J. M. Goin's Book

Feb. 10. 1912

Rattan Okla.

THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE ON "TRUE AMERICANISM" BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OTHER MATERIAL BY

JACOB H. PATTON
JOHN LORD
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
GEORGE F. HOAR
JAMES BRYCE
GROVER CLEVELAND
CHAS. A. DANA
HORACE PORTER
BENJ. F. TRACY
ROSSITER JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN
JOHN HAY
HERBERT WELCH
GEO. WM. CURTIS
HENRY W. GRADY
JOHN H. VINCENT
HENRY CABOT LODGE
WILLIAM J. JACKMAN

AND OTHERS

VOLUME I

THE L. W. WALTER COMPANY
CHICAGO

Copyright 1911
by the
L. W. Walter Company

PREFACE.

Elaborate histories of the United States have been ably written, while compends and school histories—well adapted to the place they are designed to fill—are numerous. Between these compends and the works extending from four to twelve volumes there is necessity, as well as room, for a history that shall be sufficiently elaborate to trace the direct influences that have had effect in moulding the character of the Nation and its institutions, moral and political—one that treats more fully of the "Inner Life" of the American people, and so constructed that the reader can obtain a clear conception of the forces that have made the Nation what it is. In accordance with this view, the present work is designed to present, as fully as is consistent with such a plan, those events which are interesting in themselves and characteristic of the times and people.

While the author has availed himself as much as possible of original authorities, and acknowledges his obligations to the many elaborate United States and State histories, his main effort has been to set forth our story in his own language, wrought into a consecutive narrative, confining himself to the *true elements* of history—that is, only to those events and principles that have had influence; making, as occasion requires, an informal summary of the less important facts or events, in order to keep perfect the

thread of the narrative. Among the motive forces, due recognition has been given to the influence of moral truths derived from the Bible, in leading the people to cherish liberty of speech, free institutions, and the general education of their children.

The reader has no reason to quarrel with the facts of History; but it is his privilege and duty to deduce from them his own inferences. In these latter days public documents are published to the world; thus the materials for writing history become accessible. By this means the leading facts of the late Civil War are as well known to-day as they ever will be. Some incidents and complications in the careers of individuals will be revealed only when the "Life and Times" of each comes to be written. This latter class of material, unfortunately often largely embellished and explained by, perhaps, unconscious apologies and after-thoughts, may throw light upon personal motives and actions, but will shed little upon the great events themselves. For in that exciting period statesmen groped their way; no man saw the end from the beginning. The same may be said of the unforeseen consequences of our interference on behalf of Cuba and the war that ensued thereon. An overruling Hand brought about the great result, not by the plannings of men, but in spite of them.

It is hoped that the intelligent reader will find in these volumes a succinct as well as a comprehensive view of the history of the American people, and of the influential elements that have gone to form their characteristics and their Government.

J. H. P.

New York City.

True Americanism

By THEODORE ROOSEVELT

PATRIOTISM was once defined as "the last refuge of a scoundrel;" and somebody has recently remarked that when Dr. Johnson gave this definition he was ignorant of the infinite possibilities contained in the word "reform." Of course both gibes were quite justifiable, in so far as they were aimed at people who use noble names to cloak base purposes. Equally of course the man shows little wisdom and a low sense of duty who fails to see that love of country is one of the elemental virtues, even though scoundrels play upon it for their own selfish ends; and, inasumch as abuses continually grow up in civic life as in all other kinds of life, the statesman is indeed a weakling who hesitates to reform these abuses because the word "reform" is often on the lips of men who are silly or dishonest.

What is true of patriotism and reform is true also of Americanism. There are plenty of scoundrels always ready to try to belittle reform movements or to bolster up existing iniquities in the name of Americanism; but this does not alter the fact that the man who can do most in this country is and must be the man whose Americanism is most sincere and intense. Outrageous though it is to use a noble idea as the cloak for evil, it is still worse to assail the noble idea itself because it can thus be used. The men who do iniquity in the name of patriotism, of reform, of Americanism, are merely one small division of the class that has always existed and will always exist—the class

of hypocrites and demagogues, the class that is always prompt to steal the watchwords of righteousness and use them in the interests of evil-doing.

The stoutest and truest Americans are the very men who have the least sympathy with the people who invoke the spirit of Americanism to aid what is vicious in our government, or to throw obstacles in the way of those who strive to reform it. It is contemptible to oppose a movement for good because that movement has already succeeded somewhere else, or to champion an existing abuse because our people have always been wedded to it. To appeal to national prejudice against a given reform movement is in every way unworthy and silly. It is as childish to denounce free trade because England has adopted it as to advocate it for the same reason. It is eminently proper, in dealing with the tariff, to consider the effect of tariff legislation in time past upon other nations as well as the effect upon our own; but in drawing conclusions it is in the last degree foolish to try to excite prejudice against one system because it is in vogue in some given country, or to try to excite prejudice in its favor because the economists of that country have found that it was suited to their own peculiar needs. In attempting to solve our difficult problem of municipal government it is mere folly to refuse to profit by whatever is good in the examples of Manchester and Berlin because these cities are foreign, exactly as it is mere folly blindly to copy their examples without reference to our own totally different conditions. As for the absurdity of declaiming against civil-service reform, for instance, as "Chinese," because written examinations have been used in China, it would be quite as wise to declaim against gunpowder because it was first utilized by the same people. In short, the man who, whether from mere dull fatuity or from an active interest in misgovernment, tries to appeal to American prejudice against things foreign, so as to induce Americans to oppose any measure for good, should be looked on by his fellow countrymen with the heartiest contempt. So much for the men who appeal to the spirit of Americanism to sustain us in wrong-doing. But we must never let our contempt for these

men blind us to the nobility of the idea which they strive to degrade.

We Americans have many grave problems to solve, many threatening evils to fight, and many deeds to do, if, as we hope and believe, we have the wisdom, the strength, the courage, and the virtue to do them. But we must face facts as they are. We must neither surrender ourselves to a foolish optimism, nor succumb to a timid and ignoble pessimism. Our nation is that one among all the nations of the earth which holds in its hands the fate of the coming years. We enjoy exceptional advantages, and are menaced by exceptional dangers; and all signs indicate that we shall either fail greatly or succeed greatly. I firmly believe that we shall succeed; but we must not foolishly blink the dangers by which we are threatened, for that is the way to fail. On the contrary, we must soberly set to work to find out all we can about the existence and extent of every evil, must acknowledge it to be such, and must then attack it with unyielding resolution. There are many such evils, and each must be fought after a separate fashion; yet there is one quality which we must bring to the solution of every problem—that is, an intense and fervid Americanism. We shall never be successful over the dangers that confront us; we shall never achieve true greatness, nor reach the lofty ideal which the founders and preservers of our mighty Federal Republic have set before us, unless we are Americans in heart and soul, in spirit and purpose, keenly alive to the responsibility implied in the very name of American, and proud beyond measure of the glorious privilege of bearing it.

There are two or three sides to the question of Americanism, and two or three senses in which the word "Americanism" can be used to express the antithesis of what is unwholesome and undesirable. In the first place we wish to be broadly American and national, as opposed to being local or sectional. We do not wish, in politics, in literature, or in art, to develop that unwholesome parochial spirit, that over-exaltation of the little community at the expense of the great nation, which produces what has been described as the patriotism of the village,

the patriotism of the belfry. Politically, the indulgence of this spirit was the chief cause of the calamities which befell the ancient republics of Greece, the mediæval republics of Italy, and the petty states of Germany as it was in the last century. It is this spirit of provincial patriotism, this inability to take a view of broad adhesion to the whole nation that has been the chief among the causes that have produced such anarchy in the South American States, and which have resulted in presenting to us, not one great Spanish-American federal nation stretching from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, but a squabbling multitude of revolution-ridden states, not one of which stands even in the second rank as a power. However, politically, this question of American nationality has been settled once for all. We are no longer in danger of repeating in our history the shameful and contemptible disasters that have befallen the Spanish possessions on this continent since they threw off the yoke of Spain. Indeed, there is, all through our life, very much less of this parochial spirit than there was formerly. Still there is an occasional outcropping here and there; and it is just as well that we should keep steadily in mind the futility of talking of a Northern literature or a Southern literature, an Eastern or a Western school of art or science. Joel Chandler Harris is emphatically a national writer; so is Mark Twain. They do not write merely for Georgia or Missouri or California any more than for Illinois or Connecticut; they write as Americans and for all people who can read English. St. Gaudens lives in New York; but his work is just as distinctive of Boston or Chicago. It is of very great consequence that we should have a full and ripe literary development in the United States, but it is not of the least consequence whether New York, or Boston, or Chicago, or San Francisco becomes the literary or artistic center of the United States.

There is a second side to this question of a broad Americanism, however. The patriotism of the village or the belfry is bad, but the lack of all patriotism is even worse. There are philosophers who assure us that, in the future, patriotism will be regarded not as a virtue at all, but merely as a mental stage

in the journey toward a state of feeling when our patriotism will include the whole human race and all the world. This may be so; but the age of which these philosophers speak is still several æons distant. In fact, philosophers of this type are so very advanced that they are of no practical service to the present generation. It may be that, in ages so remote that we cannot now understand any of the feelings of those who will dwell in them, patriotism will no longer be regarded as a virtue, exactly as it may be that in those remote ages people will look down upon and disregard monogamic marriage; but as things now are and have been for two or three thousand years past, and are likely to be for two or three thousand years to come, the words "home" and "country" mean a great deal. Nor do they show any tendency to lose their significance. At present, treason, like adultery, ranks as one of the worst of all possible crimes.

One may fall very far short of treason and yet be an undesirable citizen in the community. The man who becomes Europeanized, who loses his power of doing good work on this side of the water, and who loses his love for his native land, is not a traitor; but he is a silly and undesirable citizen. He is as emphatically a noxious element in our body politic as is the man who comes here from abroad and remains a foreigner. Nothing will more quickly or more surely disqualify a man from doing good work in the world than the acquirement of that flaccid habit of mind which its possessors style cosmopolitanism.

It is not only necessary to Americanize the immigrants of foreign birth who settle among us, but it is even more necessary for those among us who are by birth and descent already Americans not to throw away our birthright, and, with incredible and contemptible folly, wander back to bow down before the alien gods whom our forefâthers forsook. It is hard to believe that there is any necessity to warn Americans that, when they seek to model themselves on the lines of other civilizations, they make themselves the butts of all right-thinking men; and yet the necessity certainly exists to give this warning to many of our citizens who pride themselves on their

standing in the world of art and letters, or, perchance, on what they would style their social leadership in the community. It is always better to be an original than an imitation, even when the imitation is of something better than the original; but what shall we say of the fool who is content to be an imitation of something worse? Even if the weaklings who seek to be other than Americans were right in deeming other nations to be better than their own, the fact yet remains that to be a first-class American is fifty-fold better than to be a second-class imitation of a Frenchman or Englishman. As a matter of fact, however, those of our countrymen who do believe in American inferiority are always individuals who, however cultivated, have some organic weakness in their moral or mental make-up; and the great mass of our people, who are robustly patriotic, and who have sound, healthy minds, are justified in regarding these feeble renegades with a half-impatient and half-amused scorn.

We believe in waging relentless war on rank-growing evils of all kinds, and it makes no difference to us if they happen to be of purely native growth. We grasp at any good, no matter whence it comes. We do not accept the evil attendant upon another system of government as an adequate excuse for that attendant upon our own; the fact that the courtier is a scamp does not render the demagogue any the less a scoundrel. But it remains true that, in spite of all our faults and shortcomings, no other land offers such glorious possibilities to the man able to take advantage of them, as does ours; it remains true that no one of our people can do any work really worth doing unless he does it primarily as an American. It is because certain classes of our people still retain their spirit of colonial dependence on, and exaggerated deference to, European opinion, that they fail to accomplish what they ought to. It is precisely along the lines where we have worked most independently that we have accomplished the greatest results; and it is in those professions where there has been no servility to, but merely a wise profiting by, foreign experience, that we have produced our greatest men. Our soldiers and statesmen and orators; our explorers, our wilderness-winners, and commonwealth-

builders; the men who have made our laws and seen that they were executed; and the other men whose energy and ingenuity have created our marvelous material prosperity—all these have been men who have drawn wisdom from the experience of every age and nation, but who have nevertheless thought, and worked, and conquered, and lived, and died, purely as Americans; and on the whole they have done better work than has been done in any other country during the short period of our national life.

On the other hand, it is in those professions where our people have striven hardest to mold themselves in conventional European forms that they have succeeded least; and this holds true to the present day, the failure being of course most conspicuous where the man takes up his abode in Europe; where he becomes a second-rate European, because he is over-civilized, over-sensitive, over-refined, and has lost the hardihood and manly courage by which alone he can conquer in the keen struggle of our national life. Be it remembered, too, that this same being does not really become a European; he only ceases being an American, and becomes nothing. He throws away a great prize for the sake of a lesser one, and does not even get the lesser one. The painter who goes to Paris, not merely to get two or three years' thorough training in his art, but with the deliberate purpose of taking up his abode there, and with the intention of following in the ruts worn deep by 10,000 earlier travelers, instead of striking off to rise or fall on a new line, thereby forfeits all chance of doing the best work. He must content himself with aiming at that kind of mediocrity which consists in doing fairly well what has already been done better; and he usually never even sees the grandeur and picturesqueness lying open before the eyes of every man who can read the book of America's past and the book of America's present. Thus it is with the undersized man of letters, who flees his country because he, with his delicate, effeminate sensitiveness, finds the conditions of life on this side of the water crude and raw; in other words, because he finds that he cannot play a man's part among men, and so goes where he will be sheltered from the winds that harden stouter souls. This

emigré may write graceful and pretty verses, essays, novels; but he will never do work to compare with that of his brother, who is strong enough to stand on his own feet, and do his work as an American. Thus it is with the scientist who spends his youth in a German university, and can thenceforth work only in the fields already fifty times furrowed by the German ploughs. Thus it is with that most foolish of parents who sends his children to be educated abroad, not knowing—what every clear-sighted man from Washington and Jay down has known—that the American who is to make his way in America should be brought up among his fellow Americans. It is among the people who like to consider themselves, and, indeed, to a large extent are, the leaders of the so-called social world, especially in some of the north-eastern cities, that this colonial habit of thought, this thoroughly provincial spirit of admiration for things foreign, and inability to stand on one's own feet, becomes most evident and most despicable. We believe in every kind of honest and lawful pleasure, so long as the getting it is not made man's chief business; and we believe heartily in the good that can be done by men of leisure who work hard in their leisure, whether at politics or philanthropy, literature or art. But a leisure class whose leisure simply means idleness is a curse to the community, and in so far as its members distinguish themselves chiefly by aping the worst—not the best—traits of similar people across the water, they become both comic and noxious elements of the body politic.

The third sense in which the word "Americanism" may be employed is with reference to the Americanizing of the newcomers to our shores. We must Americanize them in every way, in speech, in political ideas and principles, and in their way of looking at the relations between church and state. We welcome the German or the Irishman who becomes an American. We have no use for the German or Irishman who remains such. We do not wish German-Americans and Irish-Americans who figure as such in our social and political life; we want only Americans, and, providing they are such, we do not care whether they are of native or of Irish or of German ancestry. We have no room in any healthy American commu-

nity for a German-American vote or an Irish-American vote, and it is contemptible demagogy to put planks into any party platform with the purpose of catching such a vote. We have no room for any people who do not act and vote simply as Americans, and as nothing else. Moreover, we have as little use for people who carry religious prejudices into our politics as for those who carry prejudices of caste or nationality. We stand unalterably in favor of the public-school system in its entirety. We believe that English and no other language, is that in which all the school exercises should be conducted. We are against any division of the school fund, and against any appropriation of public money for sectarian purposes. We are against any recognition whatever by the state, in any shape or form, of state-aided parochial schools. But we are equally opposed to any discrimination against or for a man because of his creed. We demand that all citizens, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, shall have fair treatment in every way; that all alike shall have their rights guaranteed them. The very reasons that make us unqualified in our opposition to state-aided sectarian schools make us equally bent that, in the management of our public schools, the adherents of each creed shall receive exact and equal justice, wholly without regard to their religious affiliations; that trustees, superintendents, teachers, scholars, all alike, shall be treated without any reference whatsoever to the creed they profess. We maintain that it is an outrage, in voting for a man for any position, whether state or national, to take into account his religious faith, providing only he is a good American. When a secret society does what in some places the American Protective Association seems to have done, and tries to proscribe Catholics both politically and socially, the members of such society show that they themselves are as utterly un-American, as alien to our school of political thought as the worst immigrants who land on our shores. Their conduct is equally base and contemptible; they are the worst foes of our public-school system, because they strengthen the hands of its ultramontane enemies; they should receive the hearty condemnation of all Americans who are truly patriotic.

The mighty tide of immigration to our shores has brought in its train much of good and much of evil; and whether the good or the evil shall predominate depends mainly on whether these new-comers do or do not throw themselves heartily into our national life, cease to be European, and become Americans like the rest of us. More than a third of the people of the northern states are of foreign birth or parentage. An immense number of them have become completely Americanized, and these stand on exactly the same plane as the descendants of any Puritan, Cavalier, or Knickerbocker among us, and do their full and honorable share of the nation's work. But where immigrants, or the sons of immigrants, do not heartily and in good faith throw in their lot with us, but cling to the speech, the customs, the ways of life, and the habits of thought of the Old World which they have left, they thereby harm both themselves and us. If they remain alien elements, unassimilated, and with interests separate from ours, they are mere obstructions to the current of our national life, and, moreover, can get no good from it themselves. In fact, though we ourselves also suffer from their perversity, it is they who really suffer most. It is an immense benefit to the European immigrant to change him into an American citizen. To bear the name of American is to bear the most honorable of titles; and whoever does not so believe has no business to bear the name at all, and, if he comes from Europe, the sooner he goes back there the better. Besides, the man who does not become Americanized nevertheless fails to remain a European, and becomes nothing at all. The immigrant cannot possibly remain what he was, or continue to be a member of the Old World society. If he tries to retain his old language, in a few generations it becomes a barbarous jargon; if he tries to retain his old customs and ways of life, in a few generations he becomes an uncouth boor. He has cut himself off from the Old World, and cannot retain his connection with it; and if he wishes ever to amount to anything he must throw himself heart and soul, and without reservation, into the new life to which he has come. It is urgently necessary to check and regulate our immigration by much more drastic laws than now exist; and this

should be done both to keep out laborers who tend to depress the labor market, and to keep out races which do not assimilate readily with our own, and unworthy individuals of all races —not only criminals, idiots, and paupers, but anarchists of the Most and O'Donovan Rossa type.

From his own standpoint, it is beyond all question the wise thing for the immigrant to become thoroughly Americanized. Moreover, from our standpoint, we have a right to demand it. We freely extend the hand of welcome and of good-fellowship to every man, no matter what his creed or birthplace, who comes here honestly intent on becoming a good United States citizen like the rest of us; but we have a right, and it is our duty to demand, that he shall indeed become so, and shall not confuse the issues with which we are struggling by introducing among us Old World quarrels and prejudices. There are certain ideas which he must give up. For instance, he must learn that American life is incompatible with the existence of any form of anarchy, or of any secret society having murder for its aim, whether at home or abroad; and he must learn that we exact full religious toleration and the complete separation of church and state. Moreover, he must not bring in his Old World religious race and national antipathies, but must merge them into love for our common country, and must take pride in the things which we can all take pride in. He must revere only our flag; not only must it come first, but no other flag should even come second. He must learn to celebrate Washington's birthday rather than that of Queen or Kaiser, and the Fourth of July instead of St. Patrick's Day. Our political and social questions must be settled on their own merits, and not complicated by quarrels between England and Ireland, or France and Germany, with which we have nothing to do; it is an outrage to fight an American political campaign with reference to questions of European politics. Above all, the immigrant must learn to talk and think and *be* United States.

The immigrant of to-day can learn much from the experience of the immigrants of the past, who came to America prior to the Revolutionary War. We were then already, what we are now, a people of mixed blood. Many of our most illustrious

Revolutionary names were borne by men of Huguenot blood—Jay, Sevier, Marion, Laurens. But the Huguenots were, on the whole, the best immigrants we have ever received; sooner than any other, and more completely, they became American in speech, conviction and thought. The Hollanders took longer than the Huguenots to become completely assimilated; nevertheless they in the end became so, immensely to their own advantage. One of the leading Revolutionary generals, Schuyler, and one of the Presidents of the United States, Van Buren, were of Dutch blood; but they rose to their positions, the highest in the land, because they had become Americans and had ceased being Hollanders. If they had remained members of an alien body, cut off by their speech and customs and belief from the rest of the American community, Schuyler would have lived his life as a boorish, provincial squire, and Van Buren would have ended his days a small tavern-keeper. So it is with the Germans of Pennsylvania. Those of them who became Americanized have furnished to our history a multitude of honorable names, from the days of the Mühlenbergs onward; but those who do not become Americanized form to the present day an unimportant body, of no significance in American existence. So it is with the Irish, who gave to Revolutionary annals such names as Carroll and Sullivan, and to the Civil War men like Sheridan—men who were Americans and nothing else; while the Irish who remain such, and busy themselves solely with alien politics, can have only an unhealthy influence upon American life, and can never rise as do their compatriots who become straightout Americans. Thus it has ever been with all people who have come hither, of whatever stock or blood. The same thing is true of the churches. A church which remains foreign, in language or spirit, is doomed.

But I wish to be distinctly understood on one point. Americanism is a question of spirit, conviction, and purpose, not of creed or birthplace. The politician who bids for the Irish or German vote, or the Irishman or German who votes as an Irishman or German, is despicable, for all citizens of this commonwealth should vote solely as Americans; but he is not

a whit less despicable than the voter who votes against a good American, merely because that American happens to have been born in Ireland or Germany. Know-nothingism, in any form, is as utterly un-American as foreignism. It is a base outrage to oppose a man because of his religion or birthplace, and all good citizens will hold any such effort in abhorrence. A Scandinavian, a German, or an Irishman who has really become an American has the right to stand on exactly the same footing as any native-born citizen in the land, and is just as much entitled to the friendship and support, social and political, of his neighbors. Among the men with whom I have been thrown in close personal contact socially, and who have been among my staunchest friends and allies politically, are not a few Americans who happen to have been born on the other side of the water, in Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia; and there could be no better men in the ranks of our native-born citizens.

In closing, I cannot better express the ideal attitude that should be taken by our fellow citizens of foreign birth than by quoting the words of a representative American, born in Germany, the Honorable Richard Guenther, of Wisconsin, in a speech spoken at the time of the Samoan trouble. He said:

"We know as well as any other class of American citizens where our duties belong. We will work for our country in time of peace and fight for it in time of war, if a time of war should ever come. When I say our country, I mean, of course, our adopted country. I mean the United States of America. After passing through the crucible of naturalization, we are no longer Germans; we are Americans. Our attachment to America cannot be measured by the length of our residence here. We are Americans from the moment we touch the American shore until we are laid in American graves. We will fight for America whenever necessary. America, first, last, and all the time. America against Germany, America against the world; America, right or wrong; always America. We are Americans."

All honor to the man who spoke such words as those; and I believe they express the feelings of the great majority of those among our fellow-American citizens who were born

abroad. We Americans can do our allotted task well only if we face it steadily and bravely, seeing but not fearing the dangers. Above all we must stand shoulder to shoulder, not asking as to the ancestry or creed of our comrades, but only demanding that they be in very truth Americans, and that we all work together, heart, hand, and head, for the honor and the greatness of our common country.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

LIEF ERICSSON,

And other Norse Adventurers, 9.

CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS.

His Discoveries, 12. Misfortunes—Death, 15. Amerigo Vespucci and the name America, 16.

CHAPTER II.

American Prehistoric Races, 17.

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS.

South Sea—First Voyage Round the World, 43. Ponce de Leon, 44. Florida, 44. Vasquez de Ayllon, 45. Mexico and Peru, 46.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH DISCOVERIES.

John Cabot discovers the American Continent, 47. His son, Sebastian, 48. Voyages of Verrazzani, 49. Voyages of Cartier, 50. Attempts at Settlement, 52.

CHAPTER V.

DE SOTO AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

Lands at Tampa Bay, 55. On the Mississippi, 57. His Death, 58.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS EFFECTS.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUGUENOTS IN THE SOUTH.

Settlement destroyed, 62, 63. St. Augustine, 64. De Gourges, 66. Settlements in New France, 67. Champlain, 68.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLISH ENTERPRISE.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 70. The Fisheries—St. John's, Newfoundland, 71. Sir Walter Raleigh, 71. Exploring Expedition—Virginia, 72. Failures to colonize, 73. Contest with Spain, 74. Death of Sir Walter, 75.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

London and Plymouth Companies, 78. King James's Laws, 78. The Voyage and Arrival—Jamestown, 79. John Smith, his energy, 79. His Captivity, 81. Misery of the Colonists, 82 New Emigrants, 83. Lord Delaware, 84. Sir Thomas Gates, 85. Pocahontas; her Capture and Marriage, 86. George Yeardley, 87. First Legislative Assembly, 88.

CHAPTER X.

COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

First Voyage to, 89. Explorations of John Smith, 90. The Church of England, 91. The Puritans, 92. Congregation of John Robinson, 93. Pilgrims in Holland, 94. Arrangements to Emigrate, 95. The Voyage, 97. Their prominent Men, 98. A Constitution adopted, 99. Landing at Plymouth, 100. Sufferings—Indians, 101. Weston's Men, 103. Thanksgiving, 104. Democratic Government, 105.

CHAPTER XI.

COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

A Company organized; Settlement of Salem, 107. The Charter transferred, 108. Boston and Vicinity settled, 109. Roger Williams: his Banishment; he founds Providence, 110. Discussions renewed—Anne Hutchinson; Settlement of Rhode Island, 112, 113. The Dutch at Hartford; Disputes with, 113. Migrations to the Connecticut; Hooker and Haynes, 114. Pequod War, 116. Rev. John Davenport; Settlement of New Haven, 120. Sir Ferdinand Gorges; New Hampshire, 121. The United Colonies, 122. Educated Men; Harvard College, Printing Press, Common Schools, 123. Quakers: Persecution of, 124. Eliot the Apostle—the Mayhews, 125, 126. Inner Life of the Colonists, 126. The Tithing Man, 127. The title of Mr., 128. Progress, 129.

CHAPTER XII.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Slavery—Massacre by the Indians, 130. King James's Sympathies, 131. Lord Baltimore, 133. Settlement of Maryland, 134. Clay-

borne's Rebellion, 135. Toleration—Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, intolerance, 136. State of Society, 137. Aristocratic Assembly, 138. War with the Susquehannas—Nathaniel Bacon, 139. Disturbances, Obnoxious Assembly dissolved, 140. Jamestown burned; Death of Bacon, 141. Tyranny of Berkeley; Aristocratic Assembly; its Illiberal Acts, 142. Deplorable state of the Colony, 143. College of William and Mary, 144. Troubles in Maryland, 145

CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW YORK.

Hudson's Discoveries, 146. A Change wrought, 147. The Fort on the Isle of Manhattan, 148. Walloons—the first Settlers—Peter Minuits, 149. The Patroons; Van Twiller Governor, 150. Kieft his Successor, 151. Difficulties with the Indians, 152. They seek Protection; their Massacre, 153. Peace concluded, 156. Stuyvesant Governor, 157. The Swedish Settlement on the Delaware; Pavonia, 158. New Netherlands Surrendered to England, 160. The Influence of the Dutch, 161. Settlements in New Jersey; Scotch Presbyterians, 163.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Quakers, 164. William Penn; his Education, 165. Obtains a Charter, 167. Lands at New Castle; Philadelphia Founded, 168. Rights of the Indians, 169. German Emigrants, 170. Fletcher the Royal Governor, 171. New Charter granted the People—Presbyterians from Ireland and Scotland, 172. Trials of Penn; his Death—Benjamin Franklin, 173.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONIZATION OF THE CAROLINAS.

The first Settlers, 175. Grants to Royal Favorites—The "Grand Model," 176. Settlement at Cape Fear River—Sir John Yeamans, 177. Emigrants under Sayle, 178. The Huguenots, 179. The People Independent, 180. Churchmen and Dissenters, 181. Rice—Manufactures prohibited, 182. War—Failure to capture St. Augustine, 183. The ruin of the Apalachees, 184. Religious Controversies, 185. German Emigrants, 186. Indian Wars, 187. The People repudiate the Authority of the Proprietaries, 189.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

Founded in Benevolence—Oglethorpe, 190. First Immigration, 191. Savannah—Encouragements, 192. Germans from the Western Alps, 193. The Moravians—Scotch Highlanders, 195. The Wesleys—Whitefield; his Orphan House, 196. War with Spain, its

Cause, 197. Failure to capture St. Augustine, 198. Repulse of the Spanish Invaders, 199. The Colony becomes a Royal Province, 200.

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

The Restoration, 201. The Commissioners—Progress of Trade, 202. Causes of King Philip's War, 203. Death of Wamsutta, 204. State of the Colony—Attack at Swanzey, 205. Philip among the Nipmucks, 206. Attacks on Northfield—on Hadley, Goffe, 207. Tragedy at Bloody Brook—The Narraganset Fort destroyed, 208. Philip returns to Mount Hope to die, 209. The Disasters of the War, 210. James II.—his Intolerance, 211. The Charters in Danger—Andros Governor—his Illegal Measures, 212. Charter of Rhode Island taken away—Andros at Hartford, 213. Andros in Jail; the Charters resumed, 214. The Men of influence, 215.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMMOTION IN NEW YORK—WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Leisler acting Governor of New York, 216. The Old Council refuses to yield—Sloughter, Governor, 217. Trial and Execution of Leisler and Melbourne, 218. Benjamin Fletcher, Governor; his failure at Hartford, 219. Yale College, 220. The Triumph of a Free Press, 221. Witchcraft; belief in, 222. Cotton Mather, 223. Various Persons accused at Salem, 224. Stoughton as Judge, and Parris as Accuser, 225. Minister Burroughs, 226. Calef's Pamphlet, 227. Mather's stand in favor of Inoculation, 228. Persons put to death as Witches in England and Scotland, 229. The humane Penal Laws in New England, 230. Land Holding in New England, 231. The effect of the Revolution of 1688, 233. Land Holding in Virginia, 234. Education in Virginia, 235. Management of Civil Affairs, 236. Literary Culture in the Middle Colonies and Newspapers, 237. The inner Life in New England and Virginia, 239.

CHAPTER XIX.

MISSIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN NEW FRANCE.

The Immigrants, 240. The Jesuits; their zeal as Teachers and Explorers, 241. The Chief Ahasistari, 242. The Five Nations, or Iroquois, 243. Father Jogues, 244. The Abenakis; Dreuilettes, 245. French Settlers at Oswego—Father Allouez, 246. James Marquette—The Mississippi, 247. La Salle, 248. His Enterprise; his failure and Tragical End, 250.

CHAPTER XX.

MARAUDING EXPEDITIONS; SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA; CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG.

Mohawks hostile to the French, 252. Dover attacked; Major Waldron, 253. Schenectady burned—the inhuman Frontenac, 254. The Colonists act for themselves—Invasion of Canada, 255

Heroism of Hannah Dustin, 256. Deerfield taken; Eunice Williams, 257. D'Iberville plants a Colony on the Pascagoula, 259. Trading Posts on the Illinois and the Mississippi, 260. The Choctaws, 261. Destruction of the Natchez, 262. Attempts to subdue the Chickasaws, 263. King George's War; Capture of Louisburg, 264. The English Ministry alarmed, 266. Jonathan Edwards—The "Great Revival," 267. Princeton College, 268.

CHAPTER XXI.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

The Valley of the Ohio—French and English Claimants, 269. Gist, the Pioneer, 270. George Washington, 271. His Character—His Mission to the French on the Alleghany, 273. St. Pierre's Letter unsatisfactory, 275. Fort du Quesne built—Washington sent to defend the Frontiers, 276. The first Conflict of the War—Fort Necessity, 277. British Troops arrive in America, 278. Plan of Operations—General Braddock, 279. The Army on the March—Captain Jack, 280. The Battle of Monongahela, 282. Death and Burial of Braddock, 284. Dunbar's Panic—The Effects of these Events, 285.

CHAPTER XXII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CONTINUED.

The French Acadiens, 288. Their Industry and good Morals, 289. Their Mournful Exile, 290. Expedition against Crown Point, 292. The English defeated—Death of Colonel Williams, 293. Repulse of the French—Death of Dieskau—Williams College, 294. Kittaning destroyed, 295. Montcalm Acts with Energy, 297. Fort William Henry taken, 298. Canada Exhausted, 299.

A HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE.

LIEF ERICSSON,

AND OTHER NORSE ADVENTURERS.

About five hundred years before Columbus landed on Guanahani, one of the Bahama Islands, Lief Ericsson, a Scandinavian, sailed from Brattahlid, now New Herrnhut, in Greenland, in a due south direction, and after passing over sixteen degrees of latitude, or about 1,100 statute miles, sighted Newfoundland, and thence sailing southwest along the coast reached Cape Cod. Afterward other adventurous Northmen made voyages occasionally along the same coasts, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. These explorers landed at several places; and records show that they attempted to found a colony in a region which they named Vinland.

The place selected for the settlement is supposed to have been somewhere within the boundaries of the present States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, but every trace of the colony disappeared long before the advent of the English upon the same territory.

Meanwhile, an Icelandic collection of legends or sagas, which treat of these early discoveries, shows that explorations were made even as far south as Florida, in the vicinity of where St. Augustine now stands.

No marked influence was exerted by these discoveries and partial explorations, however, unless it may have been, as generally supposed, that an account of the voyages of Ericsson and others reached Columbus and stimulated him in his efforts to obtain the means of making an expedition of discovery toward the West.

CHAPTER I.

COLUMBUS.

His Discoveries, Misfortunes, and Death.—Amerigo Vespucci, and the name America.

FOR nearly fifteen hundred years after the birth of our Saviour, the great Western Continent was unknown to the inhabitants of the Old World. 1492.

The people of Europe had looked upon the Atlantic Ocean as a boundless expanse of water, surrounding the land and stretching far away they knew not whither. This vast unknown, their imaginations had peopled with all sorts of terrible monsters, ever ready to devour those who should rashly venture among them. But the cloud of mystery and superstition that hung over this world of waters was now to be dispelled—a spirit of discovery was awakened in Europe.

The Azores and Madeira Isles were already known. Mariners, driven out by adverse winds, had discovered them. Tradition told of islands still further west, but as yet no one had gone in search of them. Even though the bold Norsemen did find and touch upon Western shores, the knowledge of them was neither published nor utilized. The attention of the people of maritime Europe was turned in the opposite direction; they wished to find a passage by water to the eastern coasts of Asia. The stories told by those early travellers, Sir John Man-

CHAP. I. 1492.

deville and Marco Polo, had fired their imaginations; they believed that among those distant regions of which they wrote, so abundant in precious stones, diamonds, and gold, was the veritable land of Ophir itself. Their intense desire to obtain the treasures of India led to a result most important in the world's history—a result little anticipated, but which was to have a never-ending influence upon the destinies of the human family—the discovery of America.

There appeared at this time a remarkable man—Christopher Columbus. He was a native of Genoa, one of the great commercial cities of Italy. He had been from his childhood familiar with the sea, and had visited the most distant portions of the world then known. His time and talents were devoted to the study of navigation, geography, and astronomy. He read also many books of travel, and it is now thought that he had seen in Iceland or elsewhere the accounts of land visited in the west by the Norsemen, as mentioned in our Introduction. He began to astonish his countrymen with strange notions about the world. He boldly asserted that it was round, instead of flat; that it went around the sun instead of the sun going around it; and moreover, that day and night were caused by its revolution on its axis. These doctrines the priests denounced as contrary to those of the church. When he ventured to assert that by sailing west, he could reach the East Indies, they questioned not only the soundness of his theory, but that of his intellect. For years he labored to obtain the means to explore the great western ocean, to prove that it was the pathway to the coveted treasures of the East.

He applied first to John the Second, king of Portugal, to aid him in his enterprise, but without success; he then applied to Henry the Seventh, king of England, with a similar result. After years of delay and disappointment,

his project having been twice rejected by the Spanish court, and he himself branded as a wild enthusiast, he succeeded in enlisting in its favor the benevolent Isabella, Queen of Spain. She offered to pledge her private jewels to obtain means to defray the expenses of the expedition. Thus the blessings, which have accrued to the world from the discovery of America, may be traced to the beneficence of one of the noblest of women.

After numerous delays and many disappointments, on Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from the little port of Palos, in Spain.

He confidently launched forth upon the unknown ocean. His three little vessels were mere sail-boats compared with the magnificent ships that now pass over the same waters. He sailed on and on, day after day, and at length came within the influence of the trade winds, which without intermission urged his vessels toward the west. The sailors began to fear—if these winds continued, they never could return. They noticed the variation of the compass; it no longer pointed to the pole,—was this mysterious, but hitherto trusty friend, about to fail them?

Ten weeks had already elapsed, and the winds were still bearing them farther and farther from their homes. It is true, there were many indications that land was near; land birds were seen; land weeds, a bush with fresh berries upon it, and a cane curiously carved, were found floating in the water. Again and again, from those on the watch, was heard the cry of land, but as often the morning sun dispelled the illusion; they had been deceived by the evening clouds that fringed the western horizon. Now, the sailors terror-stricken, became mutinous, and clamored to return. They thought they had sinned in venturing so far from land, and as a punishment were thus lured on to perish amid the dangers with which their imaginations had filled the waste of waters.

Columbus alone was calm and hopeful; in the midst

CHAP. I. 1492. of all these difficulties, he preserved the courage and noble self-control that so dignifies his character. His confidence in the success of his enterprise, was not the idle dream of a mere enthusiast; it was founded in reason, it was based on science. His courage was the courage of one, who, in the earnest pursuit of truth, loses sight of every personal consideration. He asked only for a little more time, that he might prove to others the truth of what he himself so firmly believed. When lo! the following night the land breeze, fragrant with the perfume of flowers, greeted them; never was it more grateful to the worn and weary sailor. The ships were ordered to lie to, lest they should run upon rocks. Suddenly the ever watchful eye of Columbus saw a light, a moving light! The alternations of hope and fear, the visions of fame and greatness, or the higher aspirations that may have filled his soul or that eventful night, are more easily imagined than described.

Frid., Oct. 12. The next morning, they saw lying before them in all its luxuriant beauty an island, called by the natives Guanahani, but renamed by Columbus, San Salvador, or Holy Saviour.

With a portion of his crew he landed. Falling on their knees, they offered thanksgivings to God, who had crowned their labors with success.

Columbus raised a banner, and planted a cross, and thus took formal possession of the land in the names of his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. The awe-stricken natives watched the ceremony from amid the groves; they thought the white strangers were the children of the sun, their great deity. Alas! the cross did not prove to them the emblem of peace and good-will!

Columbus explored this island—one of the Bahama group—and discovered others, now known as the West Indies. Thus he spent three months; then, taking with him seven of the natives, he sailed for home. On the 1493. 15th of March he arrived at Palos. From that port to the

court at Barcelona, his progress was a triumphal procession. He was graciously received by the King and Queen, who appointed him Viceroy or Governor of all the countries he had or should discover. They conferred upon him and his family titles of nobility, and permission to use a coat of arms. The day he made his discovery, was the day of *his* triumph; this day was the recognition of it by his patrons and by the world. His past life had been one of unremitting toil and hope deferred; but in the future were bright prospects for himself and his family. But his title, the object of his honorable ambition, proved the occasion of all his after sorrows. The honors so justly conferred upon him, excited the jealousy of the Spanish nobility. CHAP. I. 1493.

From this time his life was one continued contest with his enemies. He made more voyages, and more discoveries in the West Indies. On his third voyage he saw the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco. It seems never to have occurred to him, that a river so large must necessarily drain a vast territory. He supposed the lands he had discovered were islands belonging to Cathay, or Farther India; from this circumstance the natives of the New World were called Indians. It is more than probable Columbus died without knowing that he had found a great continent. 1498.

After a few years his enemies so far prevailed, that on a false accusation he was sent home in chains from the island of Hispaniola. Isabella, indignant at the treatment he had received, ordered them to be taken off, and all his rights and honors restored. Ferdinand promised to aid her in rendering him justice, and in punishing his enemies; but, double-dealing and ungenerous, he did neither. To the misfortunes of Columbus was added the death of Isabella, his kind and generous patroness. And now he was openly maligned and persecuted. Their work was soon done; in a short time he died, worn out by dis-

CHAP. I.

ease and disappointment. His last words were: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

1506. His body was deposited in a convent in Spain. Ferdinand, it is said, ordered a monument to his memory. The justice he had denied him in life he was willing to inscribe upon his tomb,—it was to bear the inscription: "Columbus has given a world to Castile and Leon."

The body of Columbus was afterward conveyed to Hispaniola. After a lapse of almost three hundred years that island passed into the hands of the French. Generations had come and gone, but the Spanish nation remembered that Columbus had "Given a world to Castile and Leon;" and they wished to retain his remains within their own territories. They disinterred them, and with imposing ceremonies transferred them to Havana in the

1795. island of Cuba, where they still remain.

About seven years after the first voyage of Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, visited the West Indies, and also landed on the eastern coast of South America. On his return he published a glowing description of the newly discovered countries. From this circumstance the name AMERICA was given to the New World by a German writer on Geography, who may have been ignorant of the claims of Columbus.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICAN PREHISTORIC RACES.

The Origin of the American Indian.

Who were the first human beings on the American continent? How did they get there? In these questions we have the twofold aspect of a problem which, from the time of Columbus to our own day, has proved of absorbing interest to every type of mind. The many attempts at a solution of this problem resolve themselves into three distinct theories. The first of them that gained general currency regarded the aboriginal Americans as descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. This view was certainly stimulating to the imagination, and its very picturesqueness must have contributed immensely to its diffusion. Even the scientific and skeptical critic found in the idea an incentive to careful study of the manners and customs of the natives of our continent, in the hope of thus discovering analogies that would lead ultimately to the truth. But science has slowly but surely undermined the foundations—such as they were—of this belief, and it remains to-day what it was in the beginning—a mere assumption and nothing more.

The second theory takes us back to one of the famous legends of the ancient Greeks. This is the legend of Atlantis, an island realm of the western seas, of which Plato gives us a splendid vision in one of his most impressive passages. To state this theory in its crudest but simplest form, Atlantis must have been a vast land

CHAP. II.

area, or series of land areas, extending from Europe to the continent of America. Our remote predecessors were thus afforded a natural bridge over which they crossed by easy stages from the Old World to the New. That some vague tradition of this sort had survived in the minds of men from a very ancient period is beyond dispute. The legend of Atlantis had evidently cast its spell over the imagination of the old Roman philosopher Seneca, inspiring, it may be, his immortal prophecy that mankind would yet discover a new world beyond the seas. The fancy of Columbus had been caught by the boldness of the same vision, and the fabled Atlantis thus became a factor in the achievement of the greatest triumph in the annals of geographical science. Nor is this island continent of Atlantis to be dismissed as a mere creation of the myth-makers. Many able men of science have seen no escape from the conclusion that a bridge or area of land extending across the Atlantic Ocean must have afforded the path by means of which human beings first gained the American continent. Science in this twentieth century does not, to be sure, view the subject in the simple spirit of the old Spaniard who, on the strength of the land-bridge theory, assigned a Celtiberian origin to the Indians. The theory removes one difficulty, but it creates another. What became of the convenient continent between Europe and America? It can scarcely have subsided beneath the waves without leaving a trace of its former presence. Yet every attempt to establish even the outlines of the missing continent by sounding the heights and depths of the Atlantic has proved an idle task. Only the most tremendous of natural convulsions could have wiped out a vast land area between Europe and America. The advanced geological science of our time can find no traces of a submersion on this gigantic scale. Nevertheless, geologists of distinction have maintained that the northern

bed of the Atlantic was not always covered with water. If their view be the right one, man may have left the Old World for the New at a time when climatic conditions on the earth were very different from those known to us.

We come now to the third and last theory of the peopling of America. The shipping of Asiatic coast dwellers was driven from time to time by stress of wind and weather as far as the Alaskan shore. An involuntary migration was thus set up from a remote prehistorical period. A glance at the map shows this view of the case to be an extremely simple one. Nowhere do the continents of the Old World and the New come so closely together as in the Alaskan region. That slender arm known as Bering Strait forms the only division between these mighty areas. Transit from one to the other can have presented no insuperable difficulties even to the most primitive craft. The plausibility of this view is supported by certain resemblances between the American aborigines and Mongolian peoples. Some American races of the Pacific states have characteristics in common with the nations of civilized Asia. There are Chinese legends of a land of Fu-schan which point unmistakably to Aztec civilization, in the opinion of many scientists. Upon these and other considerations is based the theory of a Chinese origin for the first inhabitants of America. But all this ingenious theorizing has been unable to withstand the ordeal of more searching investigation. America was certainly not peopled by the Alaskan route within a period during which we can trace even the most ancient Chinese races. Only after the glacial period did the remote northwestern extremity of our continent emerge from the bosom of the Pacific. Such, at any rate, is the conclusion of recent geological science. The first dwellers of America could never have traversed the infinite width of waters stretching in that dim and distant pre-glacial past from

CHAP. II.

pole to pole. The bones of many generations of men were already whitening even then in the soil of the New World.

This time-worn question has, however, lost much of its importance. The human race in the Old World can not be traced back to a remoter past than the human race in the New. But America was not the cradle of the human race, for the anthropoid apes never made their home there. This much is established by the fossil "finds." Yet the theory of evolution cannot dispense with the anthropoid apes as the connecting link between man and the lower animals. It is, of course, possible that the first human beings on our continent gained access to it at a time when the divisions of land and water on the earth's surface were as yet totally different from those we know anything about. If so, geology will some day be in a position to establish the fact beyond dispute. Meanwhile we can only suspend judgment upon theories assigning an Asiatic origin to America's savage and half-savage peoples. All disputes as to whether America's civilization is the outcome of Aryan or of Semitic influences must be indeed idle if man first made his home on this continent at a time when his fellow creatures in the Old World still shared with the brutes the privilege of devouring some fallen carcass, and still found in a natural cave of the mountains their only refuge from the elements. And we know that life's development in the New World was continuous and unaffected by any outside influence, from the age of the mammoth down to the discovery by Christopher Columbus.

At a later age than that of the mammoth—although even this later age was well within the prehistorical period—America already had a considerable population. This is shown by the great size and wide diffusion of those rubbish-mounds known as kitchen-middens. These

comprise heaps of fish refuse mingled with the domestic utensils and other relics of prehistoric man, all dating back to the oldest American form of civilization or semi-civilization. Some of the mounds, however, are assignable to as recent a period as the later stone age, beyond which the Indians of eastern South America never advanced. But even the most ancient of them must have been of very slow formation. In many instances they are hundreds of feet long and of great height. The elements would certainly have interfered with a rapid accumulation of such masses, which abound along the coasts as well as throughout the interior of North and South America. The fairly dense population indicated by this state of things is significant. Were Europe and Asia in this remote era inhabited by races as yet never civilized? If so, the evolution of any form of civilization on the American continent cannot have been due to any foreign influence. Former geographical conditions on our continent would not enter into the question in the least. Argument based upon such a theory would be as futile as the speculations of Cortez and Pizarro regarding those twin mysteries of life in the New World—the civilizations of Mexico and of Peru.

It was reasonable to anticipate that a study of the dialects and traditions of the primitive races of America might throw some light on their origin. But the result is disappointing. The savage in a state of nature is found to have little knowledge and less curiosity regarding his own origin. In exceptional cases he may recall the names of both his father and his grandfather. He may even remember where they lived. Anything more than this involves him in a maze of childish fancy. The language in which these primitive Americans conveyed their few ideas had more elements of permanence. But it was subject, nevertheless, to countless modifica-

CHAP. II.

tions, arising principally from the introduction of captive women into a conquering tribe. For our earliest predecessors on this continent had every instinct of the beast of prey. There is every reason to suspect that cannibalism in its most ruthless form once prevailed throughout the length and breadth of America. Man triumphed over his prey by devouring him and won his wife by stealing her. Such was the order of ideas conveyed by a formless speech which must long have remained but a stage in advance of the uncouth cry of the brute. Rude word-forms, the survivors, it may be, of this period of warfare of "all against all," have been analyzed with infinite patience in the light of linguistic science, only to leave the student very often as wise at the end of his labors as he was in the beginning.

Racial Divisions of the Indians.

The whole population of the region now comprising the United States can scarcely have exceeded half a million in the time of Columbus. The number is surprisingly insignificant in comparison with the vastness of the area. Indeed, the earliest students of the subject concluded that the inhabitants of our portion of America must have numbered some millions in the year 1492. We know now that these observers were misled partly by the accounts of the red men themselves, partly by the bewildering variety of dialects that prevailed, and partly by the probabilities of the case. It is possible that the population of North America, in an indefinite prehistoric period, could have been computed by the million. But this population had evidently been declining for a long time—perhaps for centuries. We may attribute this decline, perhaps, to a type of civilization unfitted to cope with the surrounding savagery of the red man. How the red man himself reared the super-

structure of his peculiar mode of life during the slow decline of the prehistoric civilization we can only vaguely conjecture. CHAP. II.

When the Indians of our part of the world came so abruptly into history, their state of culture presented three stages. These stages were not sharply defined. In fact, they tended to shade into one another, although they were sufficiently distinguishable for purposes of study and classification. The most abject of the tribes were in what is called the later period of savagery. They used the bow and arrow, but had no pottery. Tillage of the soil was beyond their capacity. On a higher plane than this were the Indians in the older period of barbarism. They could raise a crop of something resembling maize, they herded together within a circle of hovels, and they fished and hunted in a haphazard and disorganized way. We must look to the "village" Indians—those in the middle period of barbarism—for the highest type of culture on this continent when Columbus reached it. These tribes had an agriculture and an architecture. They were progressing in a definite direction. But they were overcome at intervals by the savages of a ruder type, and in the struggle for existence they were doomed not to survive. The Indians in the second stage, the older period of barbarism, might have made themselves supreme over the whole North American continent had not the arrival of the European changed the whole course of human history in the New World. So much we may infer from their rapid progress along the lines of federation and their capacity for combination in a military sense.

The half-million Indians of the Columbian period have been differentiated into about a dozen racial stocks. It is true that these twelve nationalities or races were not evident to the first observers, nor is it to be supposed that the lines of demarcation were absolute. This clas-

CHAP. II.

sification of the native American applies, moreover, only to those members of the red race dwelling north of what is now Mexico. And while each of these twelve nationalities had features peculiar to itself, all had in common those general traits of person and character which unfailingly denote the "noble red man." The type varied little. A copper-colored skin, prominent cheek-bones, straight black hair, and a keen dark eye, were the universal physical heritage. The fundamental ideas of these beings were formed on equally rigid lines. All held tenaciously to certain laws of kindred, upon which their conception of government and society was founded. Every red man was passionately attached to his particular area of the continent which comprised the "home land" of his people. This attachment was absolute. One nationality seldom, if ever, annexed the domain of another, although they frequently invaded it. These two principles of conduct —reverence for ties of kindred and devotion to the soil —are the grand clues to Indian human nature.

The Algonquins come first in order of the twelve groupings we have to consider. Their vast domain extended along the coast of the Atlantic from Labrador to South Carolina, stretching inland almost to that "father of waters," the Mississippi. The Algonquins were fighters who knew not the meaning of fear. They would tolerate no authority but their own within the region they regarded as the land of their race. Our authentic knowledge of them does not go back quite to the Columbian period, but they were among the first red men to come into contact with European civilization. The effect upon their disposition was disastrous, yet some of the noblest and most remarkable types of Indian character were produced by the innumerable tribes making up the Algonquin stock.

A still more gifted people were the Iroquois, among

whom we include the Hurons. Ethnologists of distinction maintain that these tribes are really of the Algonquin race. Be this as it may, their lands bounded those of the Algonquins for many miles, especially in the region of the great lakes, and comprised much of the territory within the present State of New York, extending southward, moreover, as far as the mountain region of Virginia. The Hurons and the Iroquois supplied the general type of Indian character that enriches the pages of Fenimore Cooper, while their prowess in war has imparted a sanguinary aspect to our colonial history. The Iroquois got their appellation from the French, and they seem to have been divided at first into five tribes, to which was subsequently added a sixth. The "Six Nations" annihilated many tribes in the course of their warlike history. They developed a perfectly framed system of federal union. Their chiefs met in regular council to determine the common policy of their alliance. So well executed were their measures of war and peace that their power became irresistible. These "Romans of the West" would have conquered the new world east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, according to Parkman, had the white man deferred his appearance for another hundred years or so. The gift of eloquence was theirs in a marked degree, and the speeches of Logan and Red Jacket have become classic.

The land of the Dakotas—third on our list of races—comprised the leagues of billowy prairie that roll westward from the Mississippi to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. The Dakotas were known to the French as Sioux, and, as was inevitable in the case of a prairie people, they were renowned hunters of the buffalo. Some of their more eastern tribes had a primitive kind of agriculture, but the Dakotas generally subsisted from the chase. Their physical characteristics were often

CHAP. II.

strikingly unlike those of all other red men. The color and texture of their hair presented variations not met with elsewhere, while in complexion their women approached more nearly to the blonde type than did the squaws of the other North American tribes. They spent more time in their ablutions than seemed proper to the Indian of the coast, and the hair of both males and females was allowed to attain its full growth. There was a reserve in the character of a Dakota squaw that suggested some notion of feminine delicacy; and her attachment to her children is the subject of many beautiful stories. The men were magnificent swimmers. They loved personal adornment and were affable in manner. Their cruelty, however, was proverbial. The exquisite tortures they inflicted upon captives were equaled only by the punishments they contrived for themselves. Their purpose in thus testing their own powers of endurance was the same as that of the ancient Spartans.

The Athabascan Indians formed a northern stock. The possessions of these tribes included much of what has since become the Dominion of Canada, and they hunted even as far northward as Alaska. Their lands also extended considerably within the present limits of the United States, for the Apaches and Navajoes were Athabascans, although some authorities incline to the view that the Apaches were really southerners. The Athabascans generally were a fierce and untamable people. Some of the tribes lived by fishing. Others are said to have kept slaves. Again, we are assured that many Athabascan clans were mild and gentle until contact with the white race transformed them. The truth seems to be that the vast territory inhabited by these people was long inaccessible to the trader and explorer. Our knowledge of the Athabascans has, therefore, been meager or conflicting.

The Esquimaux are the most northern of the races within our scheme of classification. Their country comprises a thin strip of snow land capping the North American continent. They are at once the most interesting and the most repellent of peoples. Small, hairy-faced, dull and dirty, they have always stood apart from the other races encountered by the European in his conquest of the new world.

The Thlinket tribes lived on the Pacific coast, between the Simpson River and Mount St. Elias. They seem to have been miserable creatures physically, who had no settled mode of life and no particular capacity as hunters or fishers. Some writers consider them a degenerate branch of the so-called Columbian race, which forms one of the most important of our twelve subdivisions. The hunting grounds of the Columbian Indians included the whole of the present states of Washington and Oregon, besides a great portion of the area to the immediate north, which is now called British Columbia. They are said to have professed especial devotion to the "Great Spirit." Many of the tribes suffered severely from scarcity of food, and subsisted for months at a time upon roots and even grasses. Their chief weapon was a primitive kind of spear, which they did not discard until long after experience with the white trader had developed a certain fierceness in their disposition. Some of the Columbian tribes were expert canoeists. One branch of the race was characterized by a malformation of the cranium, produced, it is said, by pressure on the head during infancy.

The California Indians are seventh in our classification, their low level of existence calling for no extended notice. The Yumas come next, their home being in southern Arizona and eastern California.

We have now to consider briefly the very important Pueblos. Not only were they a distinctive stock in

CHAP. II. physique and culture, but they are regarded as the survivors of the prehistoric civilization of the North American continent. Their territory in the Columbian period can scarcely have exceeded the present limits of New Mexico and Arizona, although there is much plausible evidence in favor of a more comprehensive area. At the time of their discovery by the Spaniards, the Pueblos had long been in a state of decline; but even then their superiority to every form of culture north of Mexico was striking. It is as architects that these people make their most powerful appeal to the attention of the student. The famous Cliff Palace in Colorado is an impressive memorial of the antiquity as well as of the splendor of their civilization. It is inferred that this race had been receding for generations before a rising tide of barbarism. Some authorities contend that the Pueblos are the distant kin of the Aztecs. There are certainly many striking similarities between them. The most recent investigation, however, tends to dissipate this idea. Pueblo, it should be noted, means village, and it is as "village Indians" that the Spaniards sought to distinguish them. The village in this instance was almost a town, and the inhabitants, even in their dejected condition, represented, as has been observed heretofore, the most advanced culture within the area north of Mexico.

The Shoshones were, to adopt their own expression, "a great people." They inhabited a vast and vaguely defined region in the northwest, roaming over the territory now assigned to Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, and adjacent states. The Pawnees dwelt in this region also, the two races having many characteristics in common, although they used different dialects. Taking them together, their lands reached as far south as Texas, and they presented an infinite variety of tribal character, from the destitute root diggers of the mountains to the "warlike Comanches."

Finally, we have the Appalachians, or Muskokis, a spirited and intelligent race or series of races. They lived in what the American of to-day calls "the south," that is, in the area from the Carolinas to the Gulf as far westward as Louisiana. Some of the most famous tribes in our history, such as the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Cherokees, were of this Appalachian stock. All of these peoples were extremely handsome, from the Indian point of view, and very vain of their personal appearance. The first effect of contact with the white man was an epidemic of smallpox, which is said to have ravaged them mercilessly and to have spared but a fraction of their original numbers. All were more or less addicted to fanciful deformations of themselves, and all were proficient in treachery. Some observers credit them with a greater facility in the acquisition of European languages than any other red race displayed.

Such was the racial aspect of America north of Mexico, in the time of Columbus, or at any rate in a period not much later than his day. This division into twelve families is not perfectly accurate, nor does it receive the sanction of all authorities. But it answers the purpose of classification very well, although another scheme would lessen the number of distinct races by enlarging the application of the term Algonquin. It may be anticipated that scientists will in time discover a simpler system of classification than the vague one prevailing.

Social and Intellectual Conditions of the Indians.

The social, moral, and personal relations of the Indians of America, north of Mexico, show the effect of a long and intimate contact with nature. They had no notion of private property in land. Nobody could inherit anything, in our legal sense of the word. The unit of society was not the family. Even the family was not an institution, for the father had no status as such.

CHAP. II.

Speaking generally, the tribe, which was sometimes only a small gathering of two hundred persons, was organized on the basis of the clan. This clan was a grouping of individuals under the limited authority of a male member who stood in some relation of kinship to them all. But this kinship was traced almost always through the female line, and marriage within that circle was forbidden, although a man belonging to one clan could marry a woman of another clan. Hence, a certain relationship by marriage was apt to exist throughout all the tribe, but an individual always belonged to the clan of the mother. Occasionally tribes were encountered with a gentile basis of kinship, descent being reckoned through the male. There was also a system of adoption into a tribe in which relationship was nominally in the female line. The family authority was vested in the eldest member of the circle. Thus an elder brother exacted obedience from a younger. In the tribe at large, however, the governmental authority depended almost wholly upon personal merit, especially in time of war.

The several clans forming a tribe dwelt together. Their habitations radiated about a common center, but were usually close to one another. The common center was likely to be the rallying place, in which general concerns were discussed. Here the old men and the valiant warriors (herded under one great roof, or, it might be, out in the open) planned war or the hunt, worshiped the "Great Spirit," or merely frittered away the time. As for the dwellings, they were apt to be constructed of poles, logs, twigs, or sod, according to the resources at command. The sanitary arrangements were nearly always most primitive, a fact which explains the general liability of the red man to epidemics. The squaws did the work, while the men fought and amused themselves. But it was not unusual for women

of forceful character to acquire influence in the council, while the more elderly females were sometimes regarded with a kind of veneration. Life was not apt to be dull in the village, for everybody knew everybody else, and the spirit of emulation was keen.

Dress and personal adornment were among the occasions of this emulation. Attire was variegated, the hide of the deer, the hare, the buffalo, and even the snake, contributing some element to the general effect. Shirts and leggings were the conspicuous necessities of the men, and the skins of their four-footed quarry supplied the materials. But softer fabric was available in the shape of vegetable fibers woven in combination with fur, sinew, and feathers. These materials served the women for skirts—garments which rarely reached the ground. The men had, apparently, little notion of the coat. Their upper garments were sack-like, with holes for the head and arms. The nether garment varied from the loin-cloth supplemented with leggings to an elaborate covering of skin and feathers, which decorated the lower limbs with a porcupine-like fringe. There were, of course, tribes which wore very little at all in the way of attire. Others had different sets of clothes for all the occasions of life, — political, military, and religious. The robe seems to have been used more for ceremony than for service. The use of the moccasin was widely distributed, although the word seems to have been peculiar to the Algonquin peoples. This footwear was usually of deer-skin, or some kind of leather, and the sole was soft. So, too, was the upper, which had often much ornament. The head of the Indian was surmounted by feathery or hairy contrivances, which became more elaborate as the tribe rose in the scale of existence.

Personal adornment was one of the great concerns of life. The manliest brave did not disdain to give minute

CHAP. II. attention to the tattooing of his skin and the painting of his face. The former operation was painful, necessitating the employment of darts made of fish-bone or metal. The flesh was pricked in a stabbing manner that inflicted exquisite pain, while the coloring matter had sometimes a poisonous effect that caused death. But the Indian attached such great importance to the beasts, birds, suns, or stars stamped indelibly upon his body that the chance of death did not deter him from the practice. These adornments, in addition to their value from the medicine-man's point of view, conferred certain social advantages. Painting was an indispensable requisite of ceremonial intercourse. The males daubed their foreheads, noses, eyebrows, and craniums, and the females their cheeks. There seems to have been no fixed standard of taste in this matter, except that in war the braves conformed to a type of decoration that apprised the beholder of a state of hostilities. It has been said that the experienced observer could almost read the life history of an Indian by the paintings upon his person, but this could not have applied to the average case. There can be no doubt, however, that a gathering of the clans in the village center was apt to be preceded by an enormous application of paint.

The personal relations of the tribesmen with one another were rather pleasant, on the whole. Their notions of dignity and of social forms were severely adhered to, and the innumerable assemblages to dance, or to sing, or to pray in common, always had a definite order of procedure. They began with an address by some venerable elder or recognized chief, but they ended, very often, in noise and frenzied excitement. But this was, in a sense, the conventional course of events, especially on religious occasions. Weird dances, attended at times with self-inflicted violence, formed the leading ceremonial element in these rites, and led naturally to the phy-

sical collapse of all concerned. These performances were designed as a formal recognition of certain personifications of nature, and constituted the only public worship of which the Indians were capable. They seem to have had little inward relation to the individual, and worship was rarely solitary. But other phases of religion were numerous, for the mind of the red man resembled the mind of the ancient Greek in its readiness to attribute personality to the forces and faces of nature. Some tribes made a god of the thunder and lightning, and others of the sun. The winds were brothers, each with his appropriate name. Every beast of the forest was deified in the abstract and was typical of a sentiment or a power. The antelope meant peace to the Dakotas, and the grizzly bear signified war. In nothing was the Indian's close contact with nature more strikingly manifested than in his conception of the supernatural. CHAP. II.

The rites of this many-sided system of personification were not limited to the dance. There were incantations by means of fire and water, accompanied by singing, and addresses to the guardian spirit of the tribe. The bear, the wolf, the eagle, were tokens of this spirit, who was as likely as not to be of a malignant disposition, to be propitiated only by the gloomiest and most hideous practices. This fact contributed immensely to the medicine-man's importance. He was supposed by some of the tribes to hold communication with the spirits of evil, and to be able to reduce them to a state of subjection. Hence his efficacy as a physician. Herbs and roots had a magical rather than a therapeutic value, and experience has not generally sustained the traditional reputation of Indian remedies. The medicine-man was a contortionist of proficiency, and lathered himself into a foam during an important ceremony. This personage, by the way, should not be confused with a sachem, who in many tribes had a quite different authority. The sachem fre-

CHAP. II. quently united the character of chief with that of venerable old man. His authority was supernatural only in exceptional cases, whereas the medicine-man was always something of a magician. The tribes of the western prairies seem to have encouraged the magic of the medicine-man in a quite extraordinary degree, and their type of religion invested these strange creatures with almost the importance of a sacerdotal caste. It was undoubtedly the function of the medicine-man to interpret the tribe's crude philosophy of life and apply it to the emergencies of every day,—material as well as spiritual. Thus was brought about, probably, the connection between the Indian system of medicine and the Indian system of worship. There is no reason to infer that the medicine-man lacked faith in himself or in his system. He was not always consciously a quack or an upholder of delusion.

The "Great Spirit," of whom so much is made, has occasioned controversy. This being was originally accepted as the Indian's idea of one supreme deity, rewarding the good and punishing the evil. But later investigation leads to the suspicion that the "Great Spirit" and "the happy hunting grounds" may have been read into the Indian's theology through the misunderstandings of early travelers and missionaries. On the other hand, many of the tribes revered a single supernatural personality, who was credited with an indefinite supremacy over their concerns. The ease with which most tribes accepted the notion of a supreme being from the missionary, has been held to denote that their own previous theology was in line with that idea. The lore of the medicine-men, which ought to decide the point, does not always sustain this theory. There were many gods in their systems, but there was little agreement as to the supremacy of any one. Each tribe had its favorite divinity, the tendency being to exalt him until a "great

spirit" of local jurisdiction was evolved. This object of general veneration was represented in an animal form, for, as we have observed already, every animal was in the abstract an earthly aspect of some deity. When, therefore, a tribe had evolved its "great spirit," his form in this world was identified with the bear, or the buffalo, or some other available creature, which became the totem or object of everybody's superstition. Many savages regarded themselves as descendants of their totem. If this happened to be an elk, they must refrain from molesting that animal, fearing dire penalties. A poisonous serpent has been elevated to the rank of totem, in which case it inspires no dread, except among traitors to the tribe, who must infallibly die of its bite. Many totems were those of a clan rather than of a whole tribe. They were drawn or cut upon the entrances to the dwelling, and in certain cases were tattooed upon the clansman's body. One far western tribe had adopted the head of the buffalo for its totem, another the tail. Again, a totem might inspire such awe that its devotees feared to look at it. Individuals owing allegiance to a common totem had special obligations to one another. This circumstance led to the formation of secret covenants which grew into cults, presided over by the medicine-men. CHAP. II.

The totem, of course, invested the Indian mythology with a peculiar solemnity. Life in the other world was considered a higher type of the life of this world. The red men conceived the gods to have been divided into clans, to meet for common action, and to concern themselves with the fate of human beings. The gods were shades, but could assume any material form, and their magical powers were infinite. They were occasionally pleased to descend to earth in human shape for the benefit of mankind. Such a character was Hiawatha, the wise, who came down from above before Columbus had reached America. He taught men the ways of

CHAP. II.

wisdom, and at his suggestion the great confederacy of the Iroquois was formed. While the tribesmen were in council, Hiawatha and his beautiful daughter emerged from a canoe, and a mighty wind was heard. The heavens were obscured by an enormous heron, snow-white, which overwhelmed and killed the maiden in its rush and slew itself. Hiawatha grieved for his child but fulfilled his mission, and the Iroquois "became a mighty people." On a somewhat lower imaginative level was the great hero Atatarho, who lived alone in a cave, drinking from the skulls of his fallen foes. He wore garments of living serpents and spent his leisure in meditation, solaced by his pipe, until the Indian tribes about his home made him the chief of their confederacy. Those were the days of "Gitche Manito, the mighty, the creator of the nations," or, in less poetic language, of some period of storm and stress among the tribes reflecting itself in the cosmogony of the medicine-man. Thus the legends involve themselves with the real and the unreal, appearing in many shapes, the delight of the poet and the despair of the scientist.

Immoderate indulgence in dancing and open-air exercise, varied by eating to repletion, constituted the leading phases of social life to the Indian mind. Out-door games and athletic competitions formed an important part of the business of life to which much time was devoted.

Probably the most celebrated of these diversions was a match between two sets of opposing players with the object of carrying or throwing a ball through the ranks of those on the other side. This game was played without any particular rules, nor was there any limit to the number of players. Hand implements not unlike butterfly nets were used in the pursuit of the ball. The match entailed much dodging, leaping and running, and was regarded as a splendid part of the education of

a warrior, fitting him for the battlefield and giving him strength and endurance. A game of this kind would not infrequently last the greater part of the day, and was participated in by every able-bodied man in a village, while the rest of the inhabitants looked on and applauded. Such is the origin of the modern game of lacrosse.

Another spirited game was "snow-snake," a winter sport of immense popularity. A solid layer of snow over all the land, and a long, slender piece of wood curved upward at one end were the requisites of this amusement. The object was to see who could propel the piece of wood farthest over the hard surface of the snow. This looked simple, but it required great deftness and muscular power. The stick had to be grasped at the back and shot forward by a movement of the arm. It then glided over the snow, with end curved upward and a tremulous movement that strikingly suggested the serpent. Some of the braves could, it is said, send the snow-snake a quarter of a mile. There were other forms of this game, which, by means of a wheel-shaped contrivance, could be adapted to the summer season.

The squaws had their ways of amusing themselves as well as the braves. Among them was football,—not the kind we know, but a game with the object of keeping the ball up in the air. This involved energetic and constant muscular exercise. Other games were played with pieces of bone and horn. The players sat on the ground, and the competition was one mostly of skill in tossing. There were also social diversions and forms of amusement in which both the braves and the squaws participated. A circle was formed about a blanket or a fire, while some player inside or outside the ring tried to find a bone or chip that passed from hand to hand.

It seems clear that Indian character suffered from an inadequate idea of the social value of the sexes to each

CHAP. II.

other. In general, there was a well-defined difference between the work of a man and that of a woman. The notion entertained of woman's sphere may be inferred from the fact that the enslaved prisoner was "degraded" by compelling him to work with the squaws. Women gathered the firewood, tilled the ground, if the tribe happened to be agricultural, hauled the household goods when the village moved to a new site, cooked, and were generally useful. The list of their tasks, it must be remembered, looks much more formidable than it really was, for there were many squaws and no great amount of toil to be done.

There seem to have been occasions when wives accompanied their husbands on hostile expeditions, but as a rule they stayed at home. The brave could usually dissolve his marriage at any time, but the tendency seems to have been among the strongest tribes towards monogamy. The Hurons had a bad reputation as regards the relations between the sexes, and polygamy was practiced in many tribes. Marriage was not the subject of any definite ethics, but a wife's position was clearly determined, and in her home she was mistress. The wigwam was usually known by the wife's name when it had any designation at all.

Morally and intellectually the Indian was a contradiction. He had the instinct of vengeance in an extraordinary degree. The pursuit of a foe during many years, and his ruthless slaughter at last, were deemed a moral proceeding. Allusion has been made more than once to Indian treachery. Certain tribes were very proud of their capacity in this direction, as tales told around the camp fire and recorded on high authority abundantly prove. The infliction of torture, under every conceivable circumstance of horror and atrocity, afforded the Indian the greatest of his many inducements to war. With some tribes, in fact, torture was a cult and they

practiced it with diabolical inventiveness and ingenuity. Of benevolence there was seldom any trace, and yet this must not be held to deny the existence of kindness within a given circle. The Indian could feel a sense of duty to persons of real or nominal relationship to himself, but he had little sense of his duty to man as man. His myths and traditions show a kind of savage ethics, with here and there some glimmering of a noble idea obscured by the superstition that overgrows it. His theory of conduct had relation almost entirely to physical consequences. CHAP. II.

The dog was the companion of the Indian when Columbus came, but no other domestic animal was in his service. The buffalo was never tamed. Nor did the red man know what to do with the ores that cropped richly to the surface of the ground he trod. It was as much as he could accomplish to shape a nugget by hammering it. Pottery, outside of the Pueblo region, never attained importance, although much serviceable ware was made by hand and decorated tastefully. Food was obtained in variety and often in abundance. The vegetable kingdom yielded berries, fruits, maize, maple sugar, and even rice of an indigenous wild variety, and wild honey. Fish abounded, but certain tribes would not eat this sort of food. The innumerable creatures of the forest and prairie supplied the larder, and rendered want a consequence only of primitive savagery.

Every investigator has been surprised by the great number of dialects prevailing among the North American Indians. There has been much speculation as to the cause of the phenomenon, some referring it to the isolation of clans and tribes in so vast a space, while others think the mixture of tribes resulting from warfare and vicissitudes must be held responsible. The folk-lore of the Indians throws little light on this matter, but it greatly illumines every other aspect of the original

CHAP. II.

American's existence. It is thought significant of a childish intellectual condition that the animal story is given so much prominence. The bear, the beaver, the buffalo, the coyote, and the grasshopper, were all subjects of an infinite number of fables. There seems to be some indefinite connection between this imaginativeness and the language in which its imagery finds expression. At any rate, a theory of this sort has given a decided impetus in recent years to the renewed study and classification of the folk-lore. The wealth of material is infinite. Tales of the wars among the buffaloes, of ghostly lovers, and star maids, or of the woman who married a tree, are, in this view of the case, sources of knowledge that may yet dispel much of the darkness in which the history of the pre-Columbian redskin is involved. There is but one detail, although it is an important one, upon which anything like agreement prevails. The characteristic of the Indian was childishness. He was a child in his wars, in his religions, in the boy-like barbarities of which he was guilty.

Precisely what the Indians could have had to go to war about prior to the time of Columbus it is difficult to imagine. Their wars nevertheless appear to have been long and bloody. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the red man had evolved a military code of his own, and, of course, the presence of the white man did not retard his development as a fighter. The "braves" were a recognized element of standing and influence in the Indian village. They were the strongest and most active of the young men. With more or less regularity, they set forth together or singly in pursuit of the foe. Their weapons on such expeditions were bludgeons, axes, slings, daggers, and scalping-knives. The manufacture of these implements was inevitably crude, although skill of a certain primitive kind was not wanting. But the arrow of the Indian was a work of art. The

head of the arrow was usually of quartz, or white agate, or kindred substances, pointed with delicate precision into the acutest of barbs. This was fixed either to a stout quill or to a hardwood stick, or well-weighted rush, and the whole steadied for flight, when necessary, by a tail of feathers. The arrow-head was barbed at the back very often to prevent its easy withdrawal by a victim. Sometimes the arrow-head was made of bone. Sinew and thongs secured it to the stick.

The bow was a long, curved piece of hickory, whenever that wood was available. Otherwise any suitable material, even buffalo-horns and driftwood, could be made to serve. The string connecting the ends was mostly of gut, and was stretched with no more tautness than would permit the bending of the bow to the full. It was in the terrific force of the recoil thus produced that the deadliness of the arrow's flight originated. Nothing in aboriginal American life was so terribly impressive as the silent flight of a volley of arrows among the foe. The braves aimed from ambush whenever possible. Their tactics enabled flight after flight of arrows to be poured with consummate skill and rapidity into the very center of a mass of panic-stricken victims.

The arrows having been discharged, the next movement was a rush of the braves upon the enemy, provided the enemy were sufficiently weak and helpless. Then the scalping-knife came into requisition. Scalping was a simple process surgically, but it required much skill and experience to do it neatly and with speed. The brave seized the locks on top of his victim's head, made one round slash with the knife and ripped the skin from the skull. The scalp thereafter might dangle from the belt of the brave, or serve some other purpose of adornment. Its possession conveyed to the savage mind the idea of distinction, and to have many scalps in this fashion denoted a personality of importance. But no

CHAP. II. military authority or rank seems to have accompanied these insignia of prowess, although they constituted a weighty claim to preferment in the tribe.

Having no conception of the regiment, and little imperative need of discipline, the Indians entirely lacked war organization. Their movements were simply planned and cruelly executed. The silence of the forest solitudes and the stillness of evening furthered the perpetration of every imaginable treachery. The mother and her babes perished as they slept, whole villages were wiped out in a night, and ruin and desolation were everywhere.

The tomahawk was a battle-ax with a stone head. This head was variously fashioned, sometimes consisting of a wedge-shaped stone, sharpened to a cutting edge and again being merely the pronged fragment of a deer-horn. The weapon thus produced was not unwieldy, and its deadliness was unquestionable. Burying the tomahawk symbolized peace to many tribes, as digging it up was equivalent to a proclamation of war. The Indian learned much from the European regarding war, and he taught much in return, the result being that peculiar form of hostility known in our early history as "border warfare." The red man made, all things considered, a bad ally but a formidable foe. He changed sides at almost a moment's notice, and made peace as readily as he went to war. In some few tribes fighting was the business of a particular clan or clans, but the notion of a military caste was otherwise foreign to the Indian mind. The distinction between officers and men did not exist, the authority of the chief in actual battle having not the slightest relation to the course of events. Here again, however, the influence of the white man asserted itself, and the Indians of the colonial period had done much in the direction of a scientific military system.

CHAPTER III.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS.

South Sea.—First Voyage round the World.—Ponce de Leon.—Florida, Discovery and Attempt to settle.—Vasquez de Ayllon.—Conquest of Mexico and Peru.

In a few years the Spaniards subdued and colonized the most important islands of the West Indies. The poor timid natives were either murdered or reduced to slavery. Unheard-of cruelties in a short time wasted, and almost exterminated, the entire race. 1506.

Not satisfied with the possession of these islands, the Spaniards made further discoveries from time to time around the Gulf of Mexico; they explored the southern part of the peninsula of Yucatan; they planted a colony on the narrow Isthmus of Darien. Until this time, no 1510.
settlement had been made on the Western Continent.

When in search of gold, Nunez de Balboa, the governor of this colony, made an exploring tour into the interior, he ascended a high mountain, and from its top his eyes were greeted with the sight of a vast expanse of water extending away to the south, as far as the eye could reach. He called it the South Sea. But seven years later, Magellan, a Portuguese mariner in the service of Spain, passed 1520.
through the dangerous and stormy straits which bear his name; and sailing out into the great field of waters, found it so calm, so free from storms, that he called it the Pacific or peaceful ocean. Magellan died on the voyage, but his ship reached the coast of Asia, and thence returned home

CHAP. III. 1512.

to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope, thus realizing the vision of Columbus, that the world was a globe, and could be sailed round.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a former governor of Porto Rico, fitted out at his own expense three ships to make a voyage of discovery. He had heard from the natives of Porto Rico that somewhere in the Bahama Islands, was a fountain that would restore to the vigor of youth all those who should drink of its waters or bathe in its stream. This absurd story many of the Spaniards believed, and none more firmly than De Leon. He was an old man, and anxious to renew his youthful pleasures; with eager hopes he hastened in search of the marvellous fountain.

He did not find it, but in coasting along to the west of the islands, he came in sight of an unknown country. It appeared to bloom with flowers, and to be covered with magnificent forests. As this country was first seen on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, he named it Florida. With great difficulty he landed to the north of where St. Augustine now stands, and took formal possession of the country in the name of the Spanish sovereign. He sailed to the south along the unknown and dangerous coast, around the extreme point, Cape Florida, and to the south-west among the Tortugas islands. He received for his services the honor of being appointed Governor of Florida by the King of Spain,—rather an expensive honor, being based on the condition that he should colonize the country.

A year or two afterward, he attempted to plant a colony, but found the natives exceedingly hostile. They attacked him and his men with great fury—many were killed, the rest were forced to flee to their ships, and Ponce de Leon himself was mortally wounded. He had been a soldier of Spain; a companion of Columbus on his second voyage; had been governor of Porto Rico, where he had oppressed the natives with great cruelty; he had sought

an exemption from the ills of old age; had attempted to found a colony and gain the immortality of fame. But he returned to Cuba to die, without planting his colony or drinking of the fountain of youth. 1512.

About this time was made the first attempt to obtain Indians from the Continent as slaves to work in the mines and on the plantations of Hispaniola or St. Domingo. The ignominy of this attempt belongs to a company of seven men, the most distinguished of whom was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon. They went first to the Bahama Islands, thence they passed to the coast of the present State of South Carolina, landing at or near St. Helena Sound.

The natives of this region knew not as yet what they had to fear from Europeans. They were, however, shy at first, but after presents had been distributed among them, they received the strangers kindly. They were invited to visit the ships. Curiosity overcame their timidity, and they went on board in crowds. The treacherous Spaniards immediately set sail for St. Domingo, regardless of the sorrows they inflicted upon the victims of their cruelty and avarice. Thus far their plot was successful; 1520.
soon however a storm arose, and one of the ships went down with all on board; sickness and death carried off many of the captives on the other vessel. Such outrages upon the natives were common; and instead of being condemned and punished, they were commended. Vasquez went to Spain, boasting of his expedition as if it had been praiseworthy. As a reward, he received from the Spanish monarch a commission to conquer the country.

When he had expended his fortune in preparations, he set sail, and landed upon the coast. Bitter wrongs had been inflicted upon the natives, and their spirit was roused. They attacked him with great vigor, killed nearly all his men, and forced him to give up the enterprise. It is said that grief and disappointment hastened the death of Vasquez.

CHAP. III.

The Spaniards were more successful elsewhere. The explorers of the west coast of the Gulf had heard of the
1520. famed empire of Mexico and its golden riches. As evidence of the truth of these marvellous stories, they exhibited the costly presents given them by the unsuspecting natives. Under the lead of Fernando Cortez, six hundred and seventeen adventurers invaded the empire; and though they met with the most determined resistance, in the end Spanish arms and skill prevailed. Defeated at every point, and disheartened at the death of their em-
1521. peror, Montezuma, the Mexicans submitted, and their empire became a province of Spain. Just three hundred
1821. years from that time, the province threw off the Spanish yoke, and became a republic.

Rumor told also of the splendor and wealth of a great empire lying to the south, known as Peru. Pizarro, another daring adventurer, set out from Panama with only one hundred foot soldiers and sixty-seven horsemen to invade and conquer it. After enduring toil and labors almost unparalleled, he succeeded; and that empire, containing millions of inhabitants, wealthy, and quite civil-
1531. ized, was reduced to a province. Pizarro founded Lima, which became his capital. He oppressed the natives with great cruelty, and accumulated unbounded wealth drawn from mines of the precious metals, but after a rule of nine years he fell a victim to a conspiracy.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH DISCOVERIES.

John Cabot discovers the American Continent.—Enterprise of his son Sebastian.—Voyages of Verrazzani and Cartier.—Attempts at Settlement.

1497.

WHILST these discoveries, conquests, and settlements were in progress in the South, a series of discoveries was going or in the North.

John Cabot, a native of Venice, residing, as a merchant, in Bristol, in the West of England, made application to Henry VII., the reigning sovereign, for permission to go on a voyage of discovery. The king gave to Cabot and his three sons a patent, or commission, granting them certain privileges. This is said to be the most ancient state paper of England relating to America.

As Henry VII. was proverbially prudent in money matters, he would not aid the Cabots by sharing with them the expense of the expedition, but he was careful to bind them to land, on their return, at the port of Bristol, and pay him one-fifth part of the profits of their trade. They were, in the name of the king, to take possession of all the territories they should discover, and to have the exclusive privilege of trading to them.

Bristol, at this time, was the greatest commercial town in the West of England, and had trained up multitudes of hardy seamen. These seamen had become habituated to the storms of the ocean, by battling tempests in the Northern seas around Iceland, in their yearly fishing excursions. It is quite probable they had there

CHAP. IV.

1497.

heard the tradition, that at a remote period the Icelanders had discovered a country to the west of their island.

Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed almost due west, and before long discovered the American continent, it is supposed near the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude. What must have been their surprise to find, in the latitude of England, a land dreary with snow and ice, barren rocks, frowning cliffs, polar bears, and wild savages! This discovery was made more than a year before Columbus, on his third voyage, saw the South American coast, at the mouth of the Orinoco.

Thus the Western continent was discovered by private enterprise alone. The next year a voyage was undertaken for the purposes of trade, and also to ascertain if the country was suitable for making settlements. The king now ventured to become a partner in the speculation, and defrayed some of the expense. Sebastian Cabot sailed, with a company of three hundred men, for Labrador, and landed still further north than at his first voyage. The severity of the cold, though it was the commencement of summer, and the barrenness of the country, deterred him from remaining any length of time. He sailed to the South and explored the coast, till want of provisions forced him to return home. The family of the Cabots derived no benefit from their discovery, as the trade to those barren regions amounted to nothing.

It is a matter of regret that so little is known of the many voyages of Sebastian Cabot. Around his name there lingers a pleasing interest. He is represented as being very youthful, not more than twenty years of age, when he went on his first voyage. Mild and courteous in his manners; determined in purpose, and persevering in execution; with a mind of extraordinary activity; daring in his enterprises, but never rash or imprudent; he won the hearts of his sailors by his kindness, and commanded their respect by his skill. Such was the

man who, for more than fifty years, was the foremost in maritime adventure. He explored the eastern coast of South America; sailed within twenty degrees of the North Pole, in search of the North-Western passage; and at different times explored the eastern coast of this continent, from Hudson's straits to Albemarle sound. CHAP. IV. 1497.

The Cabots had noticed the immense shoals of fish which frequented the waters around Newfoundland. The English prosecuted these fisheries, but to no great extent, as they continued to visit the Icelandic seas. French fishermen, however, availed themselves of the way opened by their rivals, and prosecuted them with great vigor. Plans for planting colonies in those regions were often proposed in France, yet nothing was done beyond the yearly visits of the fishermen. Francis I. was finally induced to attempt further explorations. For this purpose he employed Verrazzani, a native of Florence, in Italy, a navigator of some celebrity, to take charge of an expedition. This was the first voyage, for the purpose of discovery, undertaken at the expense of the French government. 1524.

Verrazzani sailed south to the Madeira Isles, and thence due west, in quest of new countries. On the passage he battled a terrible tempest, but at length saw land in the latitude of Wilmington, North Carolina. No good harbor could be found as he coasted along to the south for one hundred and fifty miles. Then turning north, he cast anchor from time to time and explored the coast. The surprise of the natives and that of the voyagers was mutual; the one wondered at the white strangers, their ships and equipments; the other at the "russet color" of the simple natives; their dress of skins set off with various rude ornaments and gaudy-colored feathers. The imagination of the voyagers had much to do with the report they made of their discoveries. The groves, they said, bloomed with flowers, whose fragrance greeted them far from the shore,

CHAP. IV.

reminding them of the spices of the East; the reddish color of the earth was, no doubt, caused by gold.

1524. The explorers examined carefully the spacious harbors of New York and Newport. In the latter they remained fifteen days. They noticed the fine personal appearance of the natives, who were hospitable, but could not be induced to trade, and appeared to be ignorant of the use of iron. They continued their voyage along the then nameless shores of New England to Nova Scotia, and still further north. There the natives were hostile; they had learned, by sad experience, the cruelty and treachery of white men. Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese, some years before, had visited their coast, stolen some of their friends, and sold them into slavery. They were willing to trade for instruments of iron or steel, but were very cautious, fearful of again being entrapped.

After his return, Verrazzani published a narrative of his voyage, giving much more information of the country than had hitherto been known. On the ground of his discoveries, France laid claim to the territory extending from South Carolina to Newfoundland.

1534. Ten years after, an expedition was sent, under James Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, to make further discoveries, with the ultimate design of founding a colony. His voyage was very successful; he reached Newfoundland in twenty days; passed through the Straits of Belleisle; sailed to the south-west across a gulf and entered a bay; which, from the extreme heat of the weather, he named Des Chaleurs. Coasting along still further west he landed at the inlet called Gaspé, where he took formal possession of the country, in the name of his sovereign. This he did by planting a cross, surmounted by the lilies of France, and bearing a suitable inscription. Continuing his course still further west, he entered the mouth of a great estuary, into which he ascertained flowed an immense river, larger by far than any river in Europe.

These explorations were made during the months of July and August. It was now necessary for him to return home.

1534.

His account of the climate as "hotter than that of Spain," and of the country as "the fairest that can possibly be found;" of its "sweet-smelling trees;" of its "strawberries, blackberries, prunes and wild corn;" its "figs, apples and other fruits," together with his description of the great gulf and noble river, excited in France the most intense interest.

Immediately plans were devised to colonize the country. The court entered into the scheme. Some of the young nobility volunteered to become colonists. By the following May the arrangements were completed. Cartier, "who was very religious," first conducted his company to the cathedral, where they received the bishop's blessing, then set sail, with high hopes of founding a State in what was then called New France.

After a somewhat stormy passage, he reached the northern part of the gulf, on the day of St. Lawrence the Martyr, in honor of whom it was named—in time, the name was applied to the river also.

1535.

The strangers were received hospitably by the natives. Cartier ascended the river in a boat to an island, on which was the principal Indian settlement. It was in the mild and pleasant month of September. He ascended a hill, at the foot of which lay the Indian village; he was enraptured by the magnificent scene; the river before him evidently drained a vast territory; the natives told him "that it went so far to the west, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it." He named the hill Mont-Real, Royal-Mount; a name since transferred to the island, and to the city.

This country was in the same latitude with France; he thought its climate must be equally mild, its soil equally fertile; and that it might become the home of a happy and industrious people, and this beautiful island the cen-

CHAP. IV.

tre of an almost unbounded commerce. He did not know that God had sent the warm waters to the south through
1535. the Gulf Stream to the west of Europe; that they warmed the bleak west winds, and made the delightful climate of his native France different from that in the same latitude in North America.[1]

A rigorous winter dissipated his visions. His honest narrative of the voyage, and of the intense coldness of the climate deterred his countrymen from making further attempts to colonize the country. There was no gold nor silver to be found—no mines of precious stones. What inducement was there for them to leave their fertile and beautiful France, with its mild and healthful climate, to shiver on the banks of the St. Lawrence?

1540. Thus it remained for four years. Among many who thought it unworthy a great nation not to found a State on the shores of the magnificent gulf and river of the New World, was a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval. He obtained a commission from Francis I. to plant a colony, with full legal authority as viceroy over the territories and regions on or near the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence. These were to be known in history under the ambitious name of Norimbega.

Cartier was induced by Roberval to receive a commission as chief pilot of the expedition. They did not act in concert; both were tenacious of honor and authority, and they were jealous of each other.

1540. Cartier sailed the following spring, passed up the river, and built a fort near where Quebec now stands. To establish a prosperous colony, virtue, industry, and perseverance must be found in the colonists. The first enter-

[1] "The quantity of heat discharged over the Atlantic from the waters of the Gulf Stream in a winter's day, would be sufficient to raise the whole column of atmosphere that rests upon France and the British Isles, from the freezing point to summer heat."
Maury's Physical Geography of the Sea, p. 51.

prise, composed of young noblemen and amateur colonists failed, as might have been expected. In the second attempt they went to the other extreme,—the colonists were criminals, drawn from the prisons of France.

During the winter Cartier hung one of them for theft; put some in irons; and whipped others, men and women, for minor faults. In the spring, just as Roberval himself arrived with a reinforcement, he slipped off to France, heartily disgusted with his winter's occupation. Roberval remained about a year, and then returned home, perfectly willing to resign the viceroyalty of Norimbega, and retire to his estates in Picardy. After a lapse of fifty years, a successful attempt was made by the French to colonize the same territory.

CHAPTER V.

DE SOTO AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

CHAP. V. 1539.

THE name Florida was given by the Spaniards to the entire southern portion of the United States. Their attempts to conquer this territory had hitherto failed. For some unexplained reason, the most exaggerated stories were told of the richness of the country; there was no evidence of their truth, yet they were implicitly believed.

The success of Cortez in conquering Mexico, and of Pizarro in conquering Peru, excited the emulation of Ferdinand de Soto. He had been a companion of Pizarro; had gained honor by his valor, and, in accordance with the morals of the times, had accumulated an immense amount of wealth by various means of extortion. Still it must be said in his favor, that he was, by far, the most humane of any of the Spanish officers who pillaged Mexico and Peru. Foreseeing the endless quarrels and jealousies of the Spaniards in Peru, he prudently retired to Spain with his ill-gotten gains.

Ambition did not permit him to remain long in retirement. He panted for a name, for military glory, to surpass the two conquerors of the New World. He asked permission to conquer Florida, at his own expense. The request was graciously granted by the Emperor, Charles V. He also received an honor much more grateful to his ambition; he was appointed Governor of Cuba, and of all the countries he should conquer.

The announcement that he was about to embark on this enterprise, excited in Spain the highest hopes,—hopes of military glory and of unbounded wealth. Enthusiastic men said these hopes must be realized; there were cities in the interior of Florida as rich, if not richer than those of Mexico or Peru; temples equally splendid, to be plundered of their golden ornaments. Volunteers offered in crowds, many of noble birth, and all proud to be led by so renowned a chief. From these numerous applicants De Soto chose six hundred men, in "the bloom of life." The enthusiasm was so great, that it appeared more like a holiday excursion than a military expedition.

He sailed for Cuba, where he was received with great distinction. Leaving his wife to govern the island, he sailed for Florida, and landed at Espiritu Santo, now Tampa bay. He never harbored the thought that his enterprise could fail. He sent his ships back to Cuba; thus, in imitation of Cortez, he deprived his followers of the means to return. Volunteers in Cuba had increased his army to nearly one thousand men, of whom three hundred were horsemen, all well armed. Every thing was provided that De Soto's foresight and experience could suggest; ample stores of provisions, and for future supplies, a drove of swine, for which Indian corn and the fruits of the forest would furnish an abundance of food. The company was provided with cards, that they might spend their "leisure time in gaming;" a dozen of priests, that the "festivals of the church might be kept," and her ceremonies rigidly performed; chains for the captive Indians, and bloodhounds, to track and tear them in pieces, should they attempt to escape;—incongruities of which the adventurers seemed unconscious.

They now commenced their march through pathless forests. The Indian guides, who had been kidnapped on former invasions, soon learned that they were in search of gold. Anxious to lead them as far as possible from the

CHAP. V. 1540.

neighborhood of their own tribes, they humored their fancies, and told them of regions far away, where the precious metal was abundant. In one instance they pointed to the north-east, where they said the people understood the art of refining it, and sent them away over the rivers and plains of Georgia. It is possible they may have referred to the gold region of North Carolina.

When one of the guides honestly confessed that he knew of no such country, De Soto ordered him to be burned for telling an untruth. From this time onward the guides continued to allure the Spaniards on in search of a golden region,—a region they were ever approaching, but never reached.

At length the men grew weary of wandering through forests and swamps; they looked for cities, rich and splendid, they found only Indian towns, small and poor, whose finest buildings were wigwams. They wished to return; but De Soto was determined to proceed, and his faithful followers submitted. They pillaged the Indians of their provisions, thus rendered them hostile, and many conflicts ensued. They treated their captives with great barbarity; wantonly cut off their hands, burned them at the stake, suffered them to be torn in pieces by the blood-hounds, or chained them together with iron collars, and compelled them to carry their baggage.

They moved toward the south-west, and came into the neighborhood of a large walled town, named Mavilla, since Mobile. It was a rude town, but it afforded a better shelter than the forests and the open plains, and they wished to occupy it. The Indians resisted, and a fierce battle ensued. The Spanish cavalry gained a victory,—a victory dearly bought; the town was burned, and with it nearly all their baggage.

Meantime, according to appointment, ships from Cuba had arrived at Pensacola. De Soto would not confess that he had thus far failed, he would send no news until

he had rivalled Cortez in military renown. They now directed their course to the north-west, and spent the following winter in the northern part of the State of Mississippi. From the Indian corn in the fields they obtained food, and made their winter quarters in a deserted town. When spring returned, a demand was made of the Chickasaw chief to furnish men to carry their baggage. The indignant chief refused. The hostile Indians deceived the sentinels, and in the night set fire to the village and attacked the Spaniards, but after a severe contest they were repulsed. It was another dear victory to the invaders; the little they had saved from the flames at Mobile was now consumed. This company, once so "brilliant in silks and glittering armor," were now scantily clothed in skins, and mats made of ivy. CHAP. V. 1540.

Again they commenced their weary wanderings, and before many days found themselves on the banks of the Mississippi. De Soto expressed no feelings of pleasure or of admiration at the discovery of the magnificent river, with its ever-flowing stream of turbid waters. Ambition and avarice consume the finer feelings of the soul; they destroy the appreciation of what is noble in man and beautiful in nature. De Soto was only anxious to cross the river, and press on in search of cities and of gold. A month elapsed before boats could be built to transport the horses. At length they were ready, and white men, for the first time, launched forth upon the Father of Waters. 1541.

The natives on the west bank received the strangers kindly, and gave them presents. The Indians of southern Missouri supposed them to be superior beings—children of the sun—and they brought them their blind to be restored to sight. De Soto answered them, "The Lord made the heavens and the earth: pray to Him only for whatsoever ye need." Here they remained forty days; sent out explorers further north, who reported that buffaloes were so numerous in that region that corn could

CHAP. V.

not be raised; that the inhabitants were few, and lived by hunting. They wandered two hundred miles further
1541. west; then turned to the south, and went nearly as far, among Indians who were an agricultural people, living in villages, and subsisting upon the produce of the soil.

In this region another winter was passed. It was now almost three years since De Soto had landed at Tampa bay. With all his toil and suffering, he had accomplished
1542. nothing. In the spring, he descended the Wachita to the Red river, and thence once more to the Mississippi. There he learned that the country, extending to the sea, was a waste of swamps, where no man dwelt.

His cup of disappointment was full; his pride, which had hitherto sustained him, must confess that his enterprise had been a failure. He had set out with higher hopes than any Spanish conqueror of the New World; now his faithful band was wasted by disease and death. He was far from aid; a deep gloom settled upon his spirit; his soul was agitated by a conflict of emotions; a violent fever was induced; and when sinking rapidly, he called his followers around him, they, faithful to the last, implored him to appoint a successor: he did so. The next day De Soto was no more. His soldiers mourned for him; the priests performed his funeral rites; with sad hearts they wrapped his body in a mantle, and, at the silent hour of midnight, sunk it beneath the waters of the Mississippi.

His followers again wandered for awhile, in hopes of getting to Mexico. Finally they halted upon the banks of the Mississippi; erected a forge; struck the fetters off their Indian captives, and made the iron into nails to build boats; killed their horses and swine, and dried their flesh for provisions. When the boats were finished they launched them upon the river, and floated down its stream to the Gulf of Mexico.

1672. After the lapse of one hundred and thirty years, the Mississippi was again visited by white men of another nation.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS EFFECTS.

From this period we find interwoven with the early history of our country a class of persons who were not mere adventurers, seekers after gold or fame—but who sought here a home, where they might enjoy civil and religious liberty, and who held the principles of which we see the result in the institutions of the United States, so different in some respects from those of any other nation. This difference did not spring from chance, but was the legitimate effect of certain influences. What has made this younger member of the great family of governments to differ so much from the others? What were the principles, what the influences, which produced such men and women as our revolutionary ancestors? The world has never seen their equals for self-denying patriotism; for enlightened views of government, or religious liberty, and of the rights of conscience.

When great changes are to be introduced among the nations of the earth, God orders the means to accomplish them, as well as the end to be attained. He trains the people for the change. He not only prepared the way for the discovery of this continent, but for its colonization by a Christian people. Fifty years before the first voyage of Columbus, the art of printing was invented—and twenty-five years after the same voyage, commenced the Reformation in Germany under Martin Luther. The art of printing, by multiplying books, became the means of

CHAP. VI. 1517.

diffusing knowledge among men, and of awakening the human mind from the sleep of ages. One of the consequences of this awakening, was the Reformation. The simple truths of the Gospel had been obscured by the teachings of men. The decrees of the church had drawn a veil between the throne of God and the human soul. The priesthood had denied to the people the right of studying for themselves the word of God. The views of the Reformers were the reverse of this. They believed that God, as Lord of the conscience, had given a revelation of his will to man, and that it was the inherent right and privilege of every human being to study that will, each one for himself. They did not stop here: they were diligent seekers for truth; the advocates of education and of free inquiry. Throwing aside the traditions of men, they went directly to the Bible, and taught all men to do the same.

On the continent, the Reformation began among the learned men of the universities, and gradually extended to the uneducated people. In England, the common people were reading the Bible in their own language, long before it was the privilege of any nation on the continent.* Thus the English were prepared to enter into the spirit of the Reformation under Luther. Soon persecutions of the Reformers arose; with civil commotions and oppressions involving all Europe in war. These troubles drove the Huguenot from France and the Puritan from England, to seek homes in the wilderness of the New World.

From the Bible they learned their high and holy principles; fiery trials taught them endurance. They brought with them to our shores the spirit of the Reformation, the recognition of civil rights and religious liberty. These principles have been transmitted to us in our national institutions and form of government.

* D'Aubigné's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. V.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HUGUENOTS IN THE SOUTH.

Their settlement destroyed.—The Colony of St. Augustine.—De Gourges. Settlements in New France.—Champlain and his Success.

CHAP. VII.

WHILE these contests were going on in Europe between the friends of religious liberty and the Roman Catholics, Coligny, the high-admiral of France, a devoted Protestant, conceived the idea of founding a colony in the New World, to which his persecuted countrymen might flee, and enjoy that which was denied them in their native land; the inestimable privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience, enlightened by his holy word. 1562.

The French government took no interest in the matter. Those influences were then at work, which a few years later produced their dire effect in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Coligny, however, easily obtained a commission from Charles IX. Preparations were soon made, and the expedition sailed under the direction of John Ribault, a worthy man, and a sincere Protestant. 1572.

They knew the character of the country and of the climate in the latitude of the St. Lawrence, and they wished to find a region more fertile and a climate more genial. They made land in the vicinity of St. Augustine, Florida; they continued further north along the coast, and landed at Port Royal entrance. They were delighted with the country, its fine climate, its magnificent forests, fragrant with wild flowers; but above all with the capa- May.

CHAP. VII.

1562. cious harbor, which was capable of floating the largest ships. Here it was determined to make a settlement: a fort was built on an island in the harbor, and in honor of their sovereign called CAROLINA. Leaving twenty-five men to keep possession of the country, Ribault departed for France, with the intention of returning the next year with supplies and more emigrants. He found France in confusion; civil war was raging with all its attendant horrors. In vain the colonists looked for reinforcements and supplies—none ever came. Disheartened, they resolved to return home; they hastily built a brigantine, and with an insufficiency of provisions, set sail. They came near perishing at sea by famine, but were providentially rescued by an English bark. Part of these colonists were taken to France, and part to England,—there they told of the fine climate and the rich soil of the country they had attempted to colonize. We shall yet see the effect of this information in directing English enterprise.

Two years after, there was a treacherous lull in the storm of civil discord in France; Coligny again attempted to found a colony. The care of this expedition was intrusted to Laudoniére, a man of uprightness and intelligence, who had been on the former voyage. The healthfulness of the climate of Florida was represented to be wonderful: it was believed that, under its genial influence, human life was extended more than one-half, while the stories of the wealth of the interior still found credence. Unfortunately proper care was not exercised in selecting the colonists from the numerous volunteers who offered. Some were chosen who were not worthy to be members of a colony based on religious principles, and founded for noble purposes.

1564. They reached the coast of Florida, avoided Port Royal, the scene of former misery, and found a suitable location for a settlement on the banks of the river May,

now called the St. Johns. They offered songs of thanksgiving to God for his guiding care, and trusted to his promises for the future. They built another fort, which like the first they called Carolina. The true character of some of the colonists soon began to appear,—these had joined the enterprise with no higher motive than gain. They were mutinous, idle, and dissolute, wasting the provisions of the company. They robbed the Indians, who became hostile, and refused to furnish the colony with provisions.

1564. June

Under the pretext of avoiding famine, these fellows of the baser sort asked permission of Laudoniere to go to New Spain. He granted it, thinking it a happy riddance for himself and the colony. They embarked, only to become pirates. The Spaniards, whom they attacked, took their vessel and made most of them slaves; the remainder escaped in a boat. They knew of no safer place than Fort Carolina. When they returned Laudoniere had them arrested for piracy; they were tried, and the ringleaders condemned and executed;—a sufficient evidence that their conduct was detested by the better portion of the colonists.

Famine now came pressing on. Month after month passed away, and still there came no tidings—no supplies from home. Just at this time arrived Sir John Hawkins from the West Indies, where he had disposed of a cargo of negroes as slaves. He was the first Englishman, it is said, who had engaged in that unrighteous traffic. Though hard-hearted toward the wretched Africans, he manifested much sympathy for the famishing colonists; supplied them with provisions, and gave them one of his ships. They continued their preparations to leave for home, when suddenly the cry was raised that ships were coming into the harbor. It was Ribault returning with supplies and families of emigrants. He was provided with domestic animals, seeds and implements for cultivating the soil. The scene was now changed; all were will-

Aug.

CHAP. VII.

ing to remain, and the hope of founding a French Protestant State in the New World was revived.

1564. Philip II., the cruel and bigoted King of Spain, heard that the French—French Protestants—had presumed to make a settlement in Florida! Immediately plans were laid to exterminate the heretics. The king found a fit instrument for the purpose in Pedro Melendez; a man familiar with scenes of carnage and cruelty, whose life was stained with almost every crime. The king knew his desperate character; gave him permission to conquer Florida at his own expense, and appointed him its governor for life, with the right to name his successor. His colony was to consist of not less than five hundred persons, one hundred of whom should be married men. He was also to introduce the sugar-cane, and five hundred negro slaves to cultivate it. The expedition was soon under way. Melendez first saw the land on the day consecrated to St. Augustine; some days after, sailing along the coast, he discovered a fine harbor and river, to which he gave the name of that saint. From the Indians he learned where the Huguenots had established themselves. They were much surprised at the appearance of a fleet, and they inquired of the

Sept. stranger who he was and why he came; he replied, "I am Melendez, of Spain, sent by my sovereign with strict orders to behead and gibbet every Protestant in these regions; the Catholic shall be spared, but every Protestant shall die!" The French fleet, unprepared for a conflict, put to sea; the Spaniards pursued but did not overtake it. Melendez then returned to St. Augustine. After a religious festival in honor of the Virgin Mary, he proceeded to mark out the boundaries for a town. St. Augustine is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States.

His determination was now to attack the Huguenots by land, and carry out his cruel orders. The French supposing the Spaniards would come by sea, set sail to meet them. Melendez found the colonists unprepared and de-

fenceless; their men were nearly all on board the fleet. A short contest ensued; the French were overcome, and the fanatic Spaniards massacred nearly the whole number,—men, women, and children; they spared not even the aged and the sick. A few were reserved as slaves, and a few escaped to the woods. To show to the world upon what principles he acted, Melendez placed over the dead this inscription:—"I do not this as unto Frenchmen, but as unto heretics." Mass was celebrated, and on the ground still reeking with the blood of the innocent victims of religious bigotry and fanaticism, he erected a cross and marked out a site for a church—the first on the soil of the United States.

Among those who escaped, were Laudoniere and Le Moyne, an artist, sent by Coligny to make drawings of the most interesting scenery of the country; and Challus, who afterward wrote an account of the calamity. When they seemed about to perish in the forests from hunger, they questioned whether they should appeal to the mercy of their conquerors. "No," said Challus, "let us trust in the mercy of God rather than of these men." After enduring many hardships, they succeeded in reaching two small French vessels which had remained in the harbor, and thus escaped to France. A few of their companions, who threw themselves upon the mercy of the Spaniards, were instantly murdered.

While these scenes of carnage were in progress, a terrible storm wrecked the French fleet; some of the soldiers and sailors were enabled to reach the shore, but in a destitute condition. These poor men, when invited, surrendered themselves to the promised clemency of Melendez. They were taken across the river in little companies; as they landed their hands were tied behind them, and they driven to a convenient place, where at a given signal they were all murdered. Altogether nine hundred persons perished by shipwreck and violence. It is the office of history

CHAP. VII.

1564. to record the deeds of the past—the evil and the good; let the one be condemned and avoided, the other commended and imitated. May we not hope that the day of fanatic zeal and religious persecution has passed away forever?

The French government was indifferent, and did not avenge the wrongs of her loyal and good subjects; but the Huguenots, and the generous portion of the nation, were roused to a high state of indignation at such wanton, such unheard-of cruelty. This feeling found a representative in Dominic de Gourges, a native of Gascony. He fitted out, at his own expense, three ships, and with one hundred and fifty men sailed for Florida. He suddenly came upon the Spaniards and completely overpowered them.

1568. Near the scene of their former cruelty he hanged about two hundred on the trees; placing over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards and mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers!" Gourges immediately returned to France, when the "Most Christian" king set a price upon his head; and he who had exposed his life, and sacrificed his fortune to avenge the insult offered to his country, was obliged to conceal himself to escape the gallows. Thus perished the attempt of the noble Coligny and the Huguenots to found a French Protestant State in the New World.

After the unsuccessful expeditions of Cartier and Roberval, French fishermen, in great numbers, continued to visit the waters around Newfoundland. As the government had relinquished its claim to Florida, the idea was once more revived of colonizing on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

1567. The Marquis de la Roche obtained a commission for this purpose. His colonists, like those of Roberval, were criminals taken from the prisons of France: like his, this enterprise proved an utter failure. The efforts of some

merchants, who obtained by patent a monopoly of the fur-trade, also failed. CHAP. VII.

At length, a company of merchants of Rouen engaged in the enterprise with more success. That success may be safely attributed to Samuel Champlain, a man of comprehensive mind, of great energy of character, cautious in all his plans; a keen observer of the habits of the Indians and an unwearied explorer of the country. 1603.

In the latter part of this same year, a patent, exclusive in its character, was given to a Protestant, the excellent and patriotic Sieur De Monts. The patent conferred on him the sovereignty of the country called Acadie—a territory extending from Philadelphia on the south, to beyond Montreal on the north, and to the west indefinitely. It granted him a monopoly of the fur-trade and other branches of commerce; and freedom in religion to the Huguenots who should become colonists. It was enjoined upon all idlers, and men of no profession, and banished persons to aid in founding the colony.

The expedition was soon under way in two ships. In due time they entered a spacious harbor on the western part of Nova Scotia, which they named Port Royal, since Annapolis. The waters abounded in fish, and the country was fertile and level—advantages that induced some of the emigrants to form a settlement. Others went to an island at the mouth of the St. Croix, but the next spring they removed to Port Royal. This was the first permanent French settlement in the New World; and these were the ancestors of those unfortunate Acadiens whose fate, nearly a century and a half later, forms a melancholy episode in American history. 1607.

Among the influences exerted upon the Indians was that of the Jesuits, who, a few years afterward, were sent as missionaries to the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec in Maine. These tribes became the allies of the French, and remained so during all their contests

CHAP. VII.

with the English. De Monts explored the coast and rivers of New England as far south as Cape Cod, intending somewhere in that region to make a settlement; but disaster followed disaster, till the project was finally abandoned.

1608.

Meantime, Champlain, whose ambition was to establish a State, had founded Quebec, that is, it was the centre of a few cultivated fields and gardens. Huguenots were among the settlers; they had taken an active part in the enterprise; but there were also others who were of the Catholic faith. Soon religious disputes as well as commercial jealousies arose, which retarded the progress of the colony. Champlain, the soul of the enterprise, was not idle; he made many exploring expeditions, and discovered the beautiful lake which bears his name. In spite of the quarrels between the Jesuits and the Huguenots, and the restlessness of the Indians and disappointments of various kinds, the persevering Champlain succeeded in establishing a French colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence. For one hundred and twenty years it remained under the dominion of his native France, and then passed into the hands of her great rival.

1609.

1634.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLISH ENTERPRISE.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—The Fisheries.—St. Johns, Newfoundland.—Sir Walter Raleigh.—Exploring Expedition.—Virginia; failures to colonize.—Contest with Spain.—Death of Sir Walter.

ENGLAND never relinquished her claims to North America; they were based upon the discovery and explorations of Sebastian Cabot. According to the received rules of the times, she was right, as he was undoubtedly the first discoverer. For many reasons, she was not prepared to avail herself of these claims, till nearly ninety years after that discovery. This time was not passed by the English sailors in maritime idleness. During the reign of Henry VIII., intercourse was kept up with the fisheries of Newfoundland, that school of English seamen, in which were trained the men who gave to that nation the supremacy of the ocean—the element upon which the military glory of England was to be achieved. The king cherished his navy, and took commerce under his special protection.

1569.

1497.

The reign of Mary, of bloody memory, saw the struggle commence between England and Spain for the supremacy on the ocean. She married Philip II., the most powerful monarch of the age: he designed to subject the English nation to himself, and its religion to the church of Rome. When this became known, the Protestant spirit rose in opposition. This spirit pervaded the entire peo-

CHAP. VIII.

1570. ple; they exerted their energies to the utmost. Instead of submitting to the dictation of Spain, England boldly assumed the position of an antagonist. There was a marked contrast between the two nations. The navy of the one was immense, that of the other was small, but brave and efficient: the one drew her wealth from mines of gold and silver in the New World—the other obtained hers by the slow process of industry and economy. The one became proud and indolent, luxurious and imbecile—the other may have become proud, but certainly not indolent; luxurious, but certainly not imbecile.

On her accession, Queen Elizabeth pursued the policy of her father Henry VIII., towards her navy and com-

From 1549 merce. While some of her subjects were trading by land with the east, others were on the ocean cruising against the Spaniards: some were prosecuting the fisheries around Newfoundland and in the seas northwest of Europe; some were exploring the western coast of America, and the eastern coast of Asia: others were groping their way among the islands of the extreme north, in a vain search for the north-west passage.

Explorers were still haunted with the idea that mines of exhaustless wealth were yet to be found in the New World. Great was the exultation when a "mineral-man" of London declared that a stone brought by an English sailor from the Polar regions, contained gold. England was to find in the region of eternal snow mines of the precious metal, more prolific than Spain had found in Mexico. Soon fifteen vessels set sail for this northern island, where there was "ore enough to suffice all the gold-

to 1578. gluttons of the world." They returned laden, not with golden ore, but with worthless yellow stones.

Meanwhile, the fisheries around Newfoundland had become a certain, though a slow source of wealth. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of distinction and of upright principles, obtained a commission from the Queen

to plant a colony in the vicinity of these fisheries. He landed at St. Johns, Newfoundland, and there in the presence of the fishermen of other nations, took formal possession of the territory in the name of his sovereign. He then passed further south, exploring the coast—but losing his largest ship with all on board, he found it necessary to sail for home. Only two vessels remained, one of which, the Squirrel, was a mere boat of ten tons, used to explore the shallow bays and inlets. The closing acts of Sir Humphrey's life afford proofs of his piety and nobleness of character. Unwilling that the humblest of his men should risk more danger than himself, he chose to sail in the boat rather than in the larger and safer vessel. A terrible storm arose; he sat calmly reading a book—doubtless that book from which he drew consolation in times of sorrow and trial. To encourage those who were in the other vessel, he was heard to cry to them, "we are as near to heaven on sea as on land,"—the reality of this cheering thought he was soon to experience. That night, those on the larger vessel saw the lights of the little boat suddenly disappear.

CHAP. VIII.

Aug., 1578.

The next attempt at colonization was made by Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the noblest of that age of noble spirits: gallant and courteous in his manners; a scholar, a poet, a benefactor of his race; his name should ever be held in grateful remembrance by the people of this country. He studied the art of war with Coligny, the high admiral of France. When in that country, he determined to plant a colony in those delightful regions from which the Huguenots had been driven by the hand of violence. He had learned from them of the charming climate, where winter lingered only for a short time,—where the magnificent trees and fragrant woods bloomed during nearly all of the year,—where the gushing fountains, noble rivers, and fertile soil invited the industrious to enjoy the fruits of their labor. When Sir Walter returned home from France, he found the people

1584.

CHAP. VIII.

1584. prepared to enter upon schemes of colonization in the south. They, too, had heard of those "delightful regions" from the Huguenots, who at sea had been rescued from death, and brought to England. Raleigh without difficulty obtained a commission, granting him ample powers, as proprietor of the territories he was about to colonize. He first sent an exploring expedition, consisting of two ships, under Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, to obtain more definite information of the country. They sailed the usual route, by the Canaries and the West Indies, came first upon the coast of North Carolina, landed upon one of the islands forming Ocracock inlet, and took formal possession of the country. They partially explored Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, and the islands and coast in the vicinity, and then sailed for home. They took with them two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo; the latter was afterward very useful to the colonists as an interpreter. Amidas and Barlow on their return, confirmed what the Huguenots had reported of the excellence of the country. They saw it in the month of July. They described the unruffled ocean, dotted with beautiful islands; the clearness of the atmosphere; the luxuriant forests vocal with the songs of birds; the vines draping the trees, and the grapes hanging in clusters. This sunny land, in all its virgin beauty, appeared to these natives of foggy England, as the very paradise of the world. Elizabeth, delighted with the description, named the country Virginia, in honor of herself, as she took pride in being known as the Virgin Queen.

April 1585. It was not difficult now to obtain colonists; soon a fleet of seven vessels was equipped, containing one hundred and eight persons, who intended to form a settlement. Sir Richard Grenville, a friend of Raleigh, and a man of eminence, commanded the fleet, and Ralph Lane was appointed governor of the colony. After a tedious voyage, they landed, in June, fifteen hundred and eighty-five, on an island called Roanoke, lying between Albe-

marle and Pamlico sounds. Before long they excited the enmity of the Indians. On one of their exploring expeditions, a silver cup was lost or stolen. The Indians were charged with the theft; perhaps they were innocent. Because it was not restored, Grenville, with very little prudence and less justice, set fire to their village and destroyed their standing corn. Little did he know the train of sorrow and death he introduced by thus harshly treating the Indians and making them enemies. A few weeks after the fleet sailed for England, unlawfully cruising against the Spanish on the voyage. Governor Lane now explored the country, noticed the various productions of the soil, and the general character of the inhabitants. The colonists found many strange plants;—the corn, the sweet potato, the tobacco plant, were seen by them for the first time. Lane was unfit for his station; he became unreasonably suspicious of the Indians. With professions of friendship he visited a prominent chief, and was hospitably received and entertained; this kindness he repaid by basely murdering the chief and his followers. Men capable of such treachery were necessarily unfit to found a Christian State. Provisions now began to fail and the colonists to despond.

CHAP. VIII.

June 1585.

1586.

Just at this time, Sir Francis Drake, on his way home from the West Indies, called to visit the colony of his friend Raleigh. Though they had been but a year in the country, the colonists begged him to take them home. Drake granted their request. They were scarcely out of sight of land, when a ship, sent by Raleigh, laden with supplies, arrived. The colonists could not be found, and the ship returned to England. In a fortnight Grenville appeared with three ships; not finding the colonists he also returned home, unwisely leaving fifteen men to keep possession of the territory.

Though disappointed, Raleigh did not despair. The natural advantages of the country had failed to induce the

CHAP. VIII.

1586. first company to remain. It was hoped, that if surrounded by social and domestic ties, future colonists would learn to look upon it as their true home. Sir Walter's second company was composed of emigrants with their families, who should cultivate the soil, and eventually found a State for themselves and their posterity. Queen Elizabeth professed to favor the enterprise. but did nothing to aid it. The expedition was fitted out with all that was necessary to form an agricultural settlement. Raleigh appointed John White governor, with

Jan., 1587. directions to form the settlement on the shores of Chesapeake bay.

They came first to the island of Roanoke, there to behold a melancholy spectacle—the bleaching bones of the

July, men whom Grenville had left. All had become a desert. Doubtless they had been murdered by the Indians. Fernando, the naval officer in command of the fleet, refused to assist in exploring the shores of the Chesapeake, and the colonists were compelled to remain on the Island of Roanoke. The scene of two failures was to be the witness of a third. The Indians were evidently hostile. The colonists becoming alarmed, urged the governor to hasten

Aug., to England and speedily bring them assistance. Previous to his leaving, Mrs. Dare, his daughter, and wife of one of his lieutenants, gave birth to a female child,—the first child of English parentage born on the soil of the United States; it was appropriately named Virginia.

White on his return found England in a state of great excitement. The Pope had excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, and had absolved her subjects from their allegiance to her throne; at the same time promising her kingdom to any Catholic prince who should take possession of it. The revengeful Philip, of Spain, that good son of the Church, had been for three years preparing an immense army and fleet, with which he intended to invade and conquer England. The fleet was boastfully named

1588. the Invincible Armada. The English naval commanders

flocked home from every part of the world to defend their native land, and to battle for the Protestant religion. English seamanship and bravery completely triumphed. From that hour the prestige of Spain on the ocean was gone—it passed to England. It is not strange that in such exciting times the poor colonists of Roanoke were overlooked or forgotten. As soon as the danger was passed, aid was sent; but it came too late: not a vestige of the colony was to be found; death had done its work, whether by the hand of the savage, or by disease, none can tell. What may have been their sufferings is veiled in darkness. Eighty years after, the English were told by the Indians that the Hatteras tribe had adopted the colonists into their number. The probability is that they were taken prisoners and carried far into the interior. A few years before Sir Francis Drake had broken up the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. Thus, one hundred years after the first voyage of Columbus, the continent was once more in the possession of the Red Men.

Sir Walter Raleigh had now expended nearly all his fortune; yet, when he saw no prospect of ever deriving benefit from his endeavors, he sent several times, at his own expense, to seek for the lost colonists and to render them aid. Sir Walter's genius and perseverance prepared the way for the successful settlement of Virginia; he had sown the seed, others enjoyed the harvest. The remainder of his life was clouded by misfortune. On the accession of James I., he was arraigned on a frivolous charge of high treason; a charge got up by his enemies, never substantiated, and never believed by those who condemned him. On his trial he defended himself with a dignity and consciousness of innocence that excited the admiration of the world and put to shame his enemies. His remaining property was taken from him by the king, and for thirteen years he was left to languish in the Tower

CHAP. VIII.

1588.

of London; James not yet daring to order the execution of the patriot statesman, who was an ornament to England and the age in which he lived. After the lapse of sixteen years the hour came, and Sir Walter met death on the scaffold with the calmness and dignity of an innocent and Christian man.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

London and Plymouth Companies.—King James' Laws.—The Voyage and Arrival.—Jamestown.—John Smith; his Character, Energy, Captivity, and Release.—Misery of the Colonists.—New Emigrants.—Lord Delaware.—Sir Thomas Gates.—Pocahontas; her Capture and Marriage.—Yeardley.—First Legislative Assembly.

1606.

THE bold and energetic Elizabeth was succeeded by the timid and pedantic James I. To sustain herself against the power of Spain, she had raised a strong military force, both on sea and land. But James had an instinctive dread of gunpowder, he was in favor of peace at all hazards, even at the expense of national honor. He disbanded the greater portion of the army, and dismissed many of those employed in the navy. These men, left without regular employment,were easily induced to try their fortunes as colonists in Virginia. They were not good material, as we shall see, but they prepared the way for better men, and ultimately for success. Sir Walter Raleigh having sacrificed his fortune in fruitless attempts to found a colony, had induced some gentlemen to form a company, and engage in the enterprise. To this company he had transferred his patent, with all its privileges, on very liberal terms. The company manifested but little energy: they had neither the enthusiasm nor the liberality of Sir Walter.

England claimed the territory from Cape Fear, in North Carolina, to Newfoundland, and to the West in-

CHAP. IX.

1606. definitely. This territory King James divided into two parts: South Virginia, extending from Cape Fear to the Potomac; and North Virginia, from the mouth of the Hudson to Newfoundland. There were now formed two companies: one known as the London Company, principally composed of "noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants," residing in London; the other the Plymouth Company, composed of "knights, gentlemen, and merchants," living in the West of England. To the London Company James granted South Virginia, to the Plymouth Company North Virginia. The region between the Potomac and the mouth of the Hudson was to be neutral ground, on which the companies were at liberty to form settlements within fifty miles of their respective boundaries. The London Company was the first to send emigrants.

King James was enamored of what he called kingcraft. He believed that a king had a divine right to make and unmake laws at his own pleasure, and was bound by no obligation,—not even to keep his own word. In maintaining the former of these kingly rights, James sometimes found difficulty; he was more successful in exercising the latter. He took upon himself the authority and labor of framing laws for the colony about to sail. These laws are a fair specimen of his kingcraft. They did not grant a single civil privilege to the colonists, who had no vote in choosing their own magistrates, but were to be governed by two councils, both appointed by the king,—one residing in England, the other in the colony. In religious matters, differences of opinion were forbidden; all must conform to the rites of the church of England. The Indians were to be treated kindly, and if possible, converted to Christianity.

1607. Three ships were sent with one hundred and five emigrants; of the whole number, not twenty were agriculturists or mechanics,—there was not a family nor a woman in the company. The great majority were gentle-

men, a term then applied to those who had no regular employment, but spent their time in idleness and dissipation. CHAP. IX. 1607.

The names of those who were to form the governing council, together with their instructions, were, by order of the king, foolishly sealed up in a box, there to remain until they were ready to form a government. Thus when dissensions arose on the voyage, there was no legal authority to restore harmony.

Captain Newport, who commanded the expedition, came first upon the coast of North Carolina, intending to visit the island of Roanoke, the scene of Raleigh's failures, but a storm suddenly arose, and fortunately drove him north into Chesapeake bay. The little fleet soon entered a large river, and explored its stream for fifty miles—then on *the thirteenth of May, one thousand six hundred and seven,* the members of the colony landed, and determined to form a settlement. The river was named James, and the settlement JAMESTOWN, in honor of the king; while the capes at the entrance of the bay, were named Charles and Henry, in honor of his sons. May 13.

In every successful enterprise, we observe the power of some one leading spirit. In this case, the man worthy the confidence of all, because of his knowledge, and natural superiority of mind, was Captain John Smith, justly styled the "Father of Virginia." Though but thirty years of age, he had acquired much knowledge of the world. He had travelled over the western part of Europe, and in Egypt; had been a soldier in the cause of freedom in Holland; had fought against the Turks in Hungary, where he was taken prisoner, and sent to Constantinople as a slave. He was rescued from slavery by a Turkish lady, conveyed to the Crimea, where he was ill-treated; his proud spirit resisted, he slew his oppressor and escaped, wandered across the continent, and returned to England just as plans were maturing to colonize Virginia. He entered into the enterprise with his habitual

CHAP. IX. 1607.

energy. His cool courage, his knowledge of human nature, civilized and savage,—but above all, his honesty and common sense, fitted him for the undertaking.

The superiority of Smith excited the envy and jealousy of those who expected to be named members of the council, when the mysterious box should be opened. On false and absurd charges he was arrested and placed in confinement. The box was opened—the king had appointed him one of the council. An effort was made to exclude him, but he demanded a trial; his accusers, unable to substantiate their charges, withdrew them, and he took his seat. Wingfield, an avaricious and unprincipled man, was chosen president of the council and governor of the colony.

When these difficulties were arranged, Newport and Smith, accompanied by some twenty men, spent three weeks in exploring the neighboring rivers and country. They visited Powhatan, the principal Indian chief in the vicinity—"a man about sixty years of age, tall, sour, and athletic." His capital of twelve wigwams, was situated at the falls of James river, near where Richmond now stands. His tribe seems to have been fearful and suspicious of the intruding white men from the very first—impressed, it may be, with a foreboding of evil to come.

Soon after, Newport sailed for home, leaving the colo-

June

nists in a wretched condition. Their provisions nearly all spoiled, and they too idle to provide against the effects of the climate—much sickness prevailed, and more than half the company died before winter. To add to their distress, it was discovered that Wingfield had been living upon their choicest stores, and that he intended to seize the remainder of their provisions, and escape to the West Indies. The council deposed him, and elected Ratcliffe president. The change was not for the better; he was not more honest than Wingfield, and mentally less fit for the station. In this emergency the control of affairs passed by tacit consent into the hands of Smith. He

knew from the first what was needed for the colony. As it was now too late in the season to obtain food of their own raising, he had recourse to trading with the Indians for corn. Toward the close of autumn, an abundance of wild fowl furnished additional provisions. The colony thus provided for, Smith further explored the neighboring rivers and country. In one of these expeditions he ascended a branch of the James river, and leaving the boat in care of his men, took with him his Indian guide, and struck out into the forest. Finding himself pursued by the Indians, he fastened his guide to his arm as a shield against their arrows, and defended himself with great bravery, but at length sinking in a swamp, he was taken prisoner. His captors regarded him with strange wonder; his cool courage and self-possession struck them with awe. He, aware of the simplicity and inquisitiveness of the savage character, showed them his pocket compass. They wondered at the motion of the needle, and at the strange transparent cover, which secured it from their touch. Was their captive a superior being?—was he friendly to themselves?—how should they dispose of him?—were questions that now perplexed them. They permitted him to send a letter to Jamestown. The fact that he could impress his thoughts upon paper, and send them far away, they regarded as strong proof of his superiority. He was led from place to place, to be gazed at by the wondering natives of the forest. For three days they performed powwows, or religious ceremonies, in order to learn from the spirit world something of his nature and intentions. Finally, he was sent to Powhatan, to be disposed of as he should decide. The Indian chief received him with a great display of savage pomp, but decided that he must die. Preparations were made, but the eventful life of Smith was not destined to be closed by the war-club of the savages. The heart of Pocahontas, a young daughter of Powhatan, a girl of ten or twelve years of age, was touched with sympathy and pity. She

CHAP. IX.

1607.

Dec.

1608.

CHAP. IX.

1608. pleaded with her father for his life. She clung tenderly to him as he bowed his head to receive the fatal stroke. Her interposition was received by the savages as an indication of the will of heaven, and the life of Smith was spared. Her people have passed away—most of their names are forgotten, but the name of Pocahontas, and the story of her generous deed, will ever be honored and remembered.

The Indians now wished to adopt Smith into their number: they strove to induce him to join them against the English. He dissuaded them from an attack upon Jamestown, by representing to them the wonderful effects of the "big guns." After an absence of seven weeks, he

Jan. was permitted to return. He had obtained much valuable information of the country, of its inhabitants, their language and customs.

He found the colony reduced in number to forty—in want of provisions, and in anarchy and confusion, while some were making preparations to desert in the pinnace; this he prevented at the risk of his life. The famishing colonists were partly sustained through the winter by the generous Pocahontas, who with her companions almost every day brought them baskets of corn.

In the spring, Newport returned with another company of emigrants; like the first, "vagabond gentlemen," idlers, and gold-hunters. These gold-hunters lighted upon some earth, glittering with yellow mica; they thought it golden ore. Every thing else was neglected; the entire company engaged in loading the ships with this useless earth. What a blessing to England and the colony that it was not gold!

While the people of Jamestown were thus foolishly employed, Smith explored the harbors and rivers of Chesapeake bay, and established friendly relations with the Indians along its shores. From them he learned of the Mohawks, who "made war upon all the world." On his return, he was, for the first time, formally elected

President of the Council. Industry was now more wisely directed; but in the autumn came another company of idle and useless emigrants. Smith, indignant that his efforts to improve the colony should thus be frustrated, wrote to the council to send him but a few husbandmen and mechanics, and "diggers up of trees' roots," rather than a thousand such men as had been sent. The complaint was just. During two years they had not brought under cultivation more than forty acres of land, while the number of able-bodied men was more than two hundred. The energetic arm of Smith was soon felt. The first law he made and enfored was, that "He who would not work should not eat;" the second, that "Each man for six days in the week should work six hours each day."

In England, about this time, an unusual interest was manifested in the colony; subscriptions were made to its stock, and the charter materially changed. The council was now chosen by the stockholders of the company, instead of being appointed by the king. This council appointed the governor, but he could rule with absolute authority. Not a single privilege was yet granted the colonist: his property, his liberty, his life were at the disposal of the governor; and he the agent of a soulless corporation, whose only object was gain. The company had expended money, but the course they themselves pursued prevented their receiving a return. Instead of sending the industrious and virtuous, they sent idlers and libertines; instead of farmers and mechanics, they sent gold-seekers and bankrupt gentlemen. Instead of offering a reward to industry they gave a premium to idleness, by making the proceeds of their labor go into a common stock.

The new charter excited so great an interest in the cause, that a fleet of nine ships was soon under way, containing more than five hundred emigrants, and, for the

CHAP. IX. 1609. first time, domestic animals and fowls. Lord Delaware, a nobleman of excellent character, was appointed governor for life. As he was not prepared to come with this company, he nominated Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Newport, to act as his commissioners until his own arrival. Seven of the vessels came safely, but the ship on which the commissioners embarked, with another, was wrecked on one of the Bermuda islands.

This company of emigrants appears to have been worse than any before. As the commissioners had failed to reach the colony, these worthies refused to submit to the authority of Smith, the acting President, contending that there was no legal government. But these men, who "would rule all or ruin all," found in him a determined foe to disorder and idleness; he compelled them to submit. Unfortunately, just at this time, he was injured by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, and obliged to return to England for surgical aid. He delegated his authority to George Percy, a brother of the Duke of Northumberland. And now the man who had more than once saved the colony from utter ruin, bade farewell to Virginia forever; from his arduous labors he derived no
Oct. benefit, but experienced at the hands of the company the basest ingratitude.

During the administration of Smith the Indians were held in check; he inspired them with confidence and respect. When the colonists "beat them, stole their corn, and robbed their gardens," they complained to him, and he protected their rights. After his departure, they formed a plan to cut off the white men at a single blow; but Pocahontas, the good genius of the English, came at night, in a driving storm, to Jamestown, revealed the plot and saved the colony.

1610. What the Indians failed to do, vice and famine nearly accomplished. In six months after the departure of Smith, of the four hundred and ninety colonists only sixty

were living, and they would have perished in a few days had they not obtained relief. Sir Thomas Gates, and those who were wrecked with him, found means to build a small vessel, in which, at this crisis, they reached James river. They were astonished at the desolation. They all determined to abandon the place and sail to Newfoundland, and there distribute themselves among the fishermen. They dropped down the river with the tide, leaving the place without a regret. What was their surprise the next morning to meet Lord Delaware coming in with more emigrants and abundance of supplies. They returned with a favoring wind to Jamestown the same night. CHAP. IX. 1611. May 26.

From this tenth day of June, one thousand six hundred and eleven, the colony began, under more favorable circumstances, to revive. Other influences moulded their characters. They acknowledged God in all their ways, and their paths were directed by His providential care. Under the just administration of the excellent Delaware, factions were unknown; each one was disposed to do his duty. Before they commenced the labors of the day, they met in their little church to implore the blessing of heaven. The effects were soon visible in the order and comfort of the community. They cheered their friends in England: "Doubt not," said they, "God will raise our state and build his Church in this excellent clime." In about a year, failing health compelled Lord Delaware to return to England. He left Percy, Smith's successor, as his representative. 1611.

The next year Sir Thomas Gates arrived, with six ships and three hundred emigrants; a majority of whom were of a better class, temperate and industrious in their habits. A measure was now introduced which produced the greatest effect on the well-being of the colony: to each man was given a portion of land, which he was to cultivate for himself. The good result of this was soon seen in the abundance of provisions. The colony became so pros- Aug. 1612.

CHAP. IX.

1612.

perous that some of the neighboring tribes of Indians wished to be "called Englishmen," and to be subjects of King James. Some of the colonists, however, manifested neither gratitude nor justice toward the natives. A neighboring chief was won by the gift of a copper kettle to betray into the hands of Captain Argall, Pocahontas, that faithful friend of the colony. Argall had the meanness to demand of her father a ransom. For three months the indignant Powhatan did not deign to reply. Meantime Pocahontas received religious instruction: her susceptible heart was moved, she became a Christian and was baptized; she was the first of her race "who openly renounced her country's idolatry." John Rolfe, a pious young man, of "honest and discreet carriage," became interested in the youthful princess; he won her affections and asked her in marriage. Powhatan was delighted. This marriage conciliated him and his tribe, and indeed gave general satisfaction, except to King James, who was greatly scandalized that any man, but one of royal blood, should presume to marry a princess. Rolfe took his wife to England, where she was much caressed. She never again saw her native land. Just as she was leaving England for Virginia she died, at the early age of twenty-two. She left one son, whose posterity count it an honor to have descended from this noble Indian girl.

Sir Thomas Dale introduced laws, by which private individuals could become proprietors of the soil. The landholders directed their attention almost exclusively to the raising of tobacco, which became so profitable an article of export, that it was used as the currency of the colony. At one time, the public squares and streets of

1616.

Jamestown were planted with tobacco, and the raising of corn so much neglected that there was danger of a famine.

After a rule of two years, Dale resigned and returned to England, leaving George Yeardley as deputy-governor. During his administration, industry and prosperity con-

CHAP. IX.

Jan. 1619.

tinued to increase. Under the influence of a faction, Yeardley was superseded by the tyrannical Argall, but in two years his vices and extortion, in connection with frauds upon the company, procured his dismissal, and the people once more breathed freely under the second administration of the benevolent and popular Yeardley.

Although the colony had been in existence twelve years, it contained not more than six hundred persons, and they appeared to have no settled intention of making the country their permanent home. Efforts were still made to send emigrants, twelve hundred of whom came in one year, and every means were used to attach them to the soil. At different times the company sent over more than one hundred and fifty respectable young women, who became wives in the colony, their husbands paying the expense of their passage. This was paid in tobacco, the cost of each passage varying from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds. It was deemed dishonorable not to pay a debt contracted for a wife; and to aid the husbands, the government, in giving employment, preferred married men. Thus surrounded by the endearments of home and domestic ties, the colonists were willing to remain in the New World.

Governor Yeardley was "commissioned by the company" to grant the people the right to assist in making their own laws, for which purpose they could hold an Assembly once a year. In July, one thousand six hundred and nineteen, met the House of Burgesses, consisting of twenty-two members chosen by the people. A peculiar interest is attached to this first Legislative Assembly in the New World. The laws enacted exhibit the spirit of the people. "Forasmuche," said the Assembly, "as man's affaires doe little prosper when God's service is neglected, we invite Mr. Bucke, the minister, to open our sessions by prayer,—that it would please God to sanctifie all our proceedinges to his owne glory and the good of this plantation." They passed laws against vices and in favor

CHAP. IX. 1619.

of industry and good order. "In detestation of idleness," the idler was "to be sold to a master for wages till he shewe apparent signes of amendment." Laws were made against playing of dice and cards, drunkenness, and other vices; and to promote the "planting of corne," of vines, of mulberry trees, and the raising of flax and hemp. They made provision "towards the erecting of the University and College." This was designed for the education of their own children, as well as for "the most towardly boyes in witt and graces" of the "natives' children." The governor and council sat with the Assembly, and took part in its deliberations. It was granted that a "generall Assembly should be held yearly once," "to ordain whatsoever laws and orders would be thought good and profitable for our subsistence." [1]

This right of the people to have a voice in making their own laws, was rigidly maintained until it found its full fruition in the institutions established one hundred and fifty years afterward by the Revolution. Emigration from England was greatly stimulated; in a few years the population numbered nearly four thousand, while the inducements to industry and general prosperity increased in the same proportion. The company granted a written constitution, under which the people could have a legislative assembly of their own choosing. It was necessary that the laws passed by the colonial legislature should be sanctioned by the company in England. As a check to royal interference, no laws emanating from the court could be valid, unless ratified by the House of Burgesses. Thus it continued until the dissolution of the London company, when King James arbitrarily took away its charter.

[1] Art. IX., Vol. III., Part I. *Second Series* of *Collections* of the New York Historical Society. The "Reporte" of the proceedings of this "First Assembly of Virginia," was discovered among the papers of the British State Paper Office. All trace of it had been lost for perhaps more than two centuries; at length a search, instituted by Bancroft the historian, was successful.

CHAPTER X.

COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

First voyages to.—Plymouth Company.—Explorations of John Smith.—The Church of England.—The Puritans.—Congregation of John Robinson.—"Pilgrims" in Holland.—Arrangements to emigrate.—The Voyage.—A Constitution framed on board the May-Flower.—Landing at Plymouth.—Sufferings.—Indians.—Treaties with.—"Weston's Men."—Thanksgiving.—Shares of the London Partners purchased.—Democratic Government.

1602.

THE usual route to America had been by the Canaries and the West Indies. Bartholomew Gosnold was the first navigator who attempted to find a shorter one, by sailing directly across the Atlantic. His effort was crowned with success: after a voyage of seven weeks, he came upon the coast in the vicinity of Nahant. Coasting along to the south, he landed upon a sandy point, which he named Cape Cod; and passing round it he discovered Martha's Vineyard, and several other islands in the vicinity. While he explored the coast he also traded with the natives, and when he had obtained a cargo of sassafras root, which in that day was much valued for its medicinal qualities, he sailed for home. The voyage consumed but five weeks, thus demonstrating the superiority of the new route.

Gosnold, who saw the country in the months of May and June, was enraptured with its appearance—its forests blooming with shrubs and flowers; its springs of pure fresh water, and little lakes; its beautiful islands nestling among equally beautiful bays along the coast. His de-

CHAP. X.

1607. scription, together with the shortness and safety of the voyage, led to many visits and minor discoveries by Martin Pring and others, all along the coast of New England.

The Plymouth Company, of which mention has been made, attempted to form a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec in Maine. The rigors of a severe winter, and the death of their president, so discouraged the colonists, that they abandoned the enterprise, and returned to England.

A few years afterward, Smith, whose valuable services we have seen in Virginia, undertook to explore the country. He constructed a map of the eastern portion, and noted the prominent features of the territory. The coun-

1614. try he named New England—a name confirmed by the Prince of Wales, afterward Charles I. After Smith left for England, his associate, a captain named Hunt, treacherously enticed twenty-seven of the natives with their chief, Squanto, on board his ship, then set sail. He sold these victims of his avarice into slavery in Spain. A few of them were purchased by some friars, who kindly taught them, in order to send them back as missionaries to their countrymen. Among this number was Squanto.

In this age, we are unable to appreciate fully the trials and sufferings experienced by the explorers and first settlers of this continent. When we remember the frailty of the vessels in which their voyages were made, the perils of the unexplored ocean, the dangers of its unknown coasts, the hostility of the wily savages, the diseases of an untried climate, the labor of converting the primitive forests into cultivated fields, we may well be astonished that such difficulties were ever overcome.

We have now to narrate the causes which led to the settlement of New England. Previous to the time of Henry VIII. the clergy and government of England had been in religious matters the implicit subjects of the church of Rome. While this may be said of the clergy it was different with great numbers of the people. The

spirit of religious truth was pervading their minds and moulding their character. They read the Bible in their own language, discussed freely its truths, and compared them with the doctrines and practices of the Romish church. The Pope claimed to be the temporal and spiritual head of the church, and by virtue of this claim to depose princes or absolve subjects from their allegiance. Henry wished to be divorced from his queen in order to marry another; but the Pope, to whom he applied, as the highest authority, hesitated to dissolve the marriage. The angry king, when threatened with excommunication, repudiated the Pope and his authority, and declared the English church independent of that of Rome. Parliament afterward confirmed by law what the king in a fit of anger had done, and recognized him as the head of the church in his own dominions. Thus England, by the act of her own government, became Protestant. True reformation in religion does not apply so much to its external form, as to its effect upon the hearts and consciences of men. That portion of the English people who had learned this truth from the Word of God, recognized no human being as the head of his church; they received Christ alone as the Head of his own church, and they refused to acknowledge the pretensions of the king. For the maintenance of this belief they were persecuted through a series of years: during the reign of Henry for not admitting his authority in spiritual matters; during the reign of his daughter Mary, still more fiercely, for denying the authority of the church of Rome. Many at the stake sealed their faith with their lives, and many fled to foreign lands.

1525.

1534.

1558.

After the death of Mary the persecuting fires were extinguished, and the accession of Elizabeth was the signal for the exiles to return home. They came back with more enlightened views of the rights of conscience and of free inquiry. Of these some were Presbyterians, some Congregationalists, and others members of the Estab-

CHAP. X.

1558. lished Church. They demanded a more pure and spiritual worship than that of the church of England. For this they were in derision called PURITANS—a name which they soon made respected, even by their enemies. Elizabeth was a Protestant, but she was far from being a Puritan. She wished to have a church that should reconcile all parties, whose ceremonies should be a happy medium between the showy church of Rome and the simple form of worship asked for by the Puritans. She contended strenuously for her headship of the church, while the Puritans rejected the presumptuous doctrine. She demanded of her subjects implicit obedience to her in religious matters: the Puritan took the high ground that it was his right to worship God according to his own conscience.

Severe laws were passed from time to time, and they were enforced with unrelenting cruelty. All were enjoined to conform to certain ceremonies in worship. Those who did not comply were banished; if they returnd without permission, the penalty was death. The person accused was compelled to answer on oath all questions,

1603. whether pertaining to himself or to his fellow-worshippers. Ministers who would not comply with these laws were driven from their parishes; the members of their congregations were "beset and watched night and day;" if they were detected in listening to their deprived ministers, or were absent a certain length of time from the services of the Established Church, they were fined and imprisoned, and punished in various ways. To avoid the effects of such intolerable laws, many bade farewell to their native land, and Holland and Switzerland became the asylum of some of the noblest men and women of England.

Thus the contest had raged for nearly forty years, when, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Puritans began to hope that the dark clouds of persecution which had so long overshadowed the land would be dispelled under her successor, James I., who was edu-

cated in Scotland, principally under Presbyterian influence. They had reason to believe he would protect them in the exercise of their form of worship. They were grossly deceived, and cruelly disappointed. When it was for his interest, James professed to be very favorable to the Reformation, and more especially to the Puritan form. Upon one occasion, standing with his hands lifted up to heaven, he "praised God that he was king of such a kirk —the purest kirk in all the world;" adding, "As for the kirk of England, its service is an evil said mass." Such was the language of James just before he became king. The moment he ascended the throne he threw off the mask and openly proclaimed his famous maxim, "No bishop, no king." The Puritans humbly petitioned him for a redress of grievances; he treated them with the greatest contempt. Said he to his bishops; "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse: only hang them—that's all." CHAP. X. 1603.

During all these years they hoped for better times, and were unwilling to separate from the church of their fathers; but suffering and persecution at length brought that hour. Hitherto individuals and families had gone into exile; but now, in the north of England, a pastor with all his congregation determined to leave their homes and flee to Holland, where there was already a church of English exiles. This was the congregation of John Robinson. These poor people were harassed by the minions of the king and clergy, and subjected to the petty annoyances dictated by religious intolerance. Preparations were made for them to leave. As they were about to sail, the officers of the government, with the connivance of the captain of the ship, came on board the vessel, and arrested the whole company; searched their prisoners, took possession of their effects, and carried them to prison; men, women, and children. In a short time most of them were released; only seven persons were brought to trial. 1608.

CHAP. X. 1608.

They also were liberated. The court could not convict them of crime.

The members of the congregation persevered; and soon they engaged a Dutch captain to take them from an unfrequented common. The women and children were to be taken to the place of embarkation in a small boat, the men to go by land. The latter reached the ship, and were taken on board. The boat containing the women and children was stranded, and before it could be got off they were seized by a party of their enemies. The captain, lest he should become involved in difficulties with the English authorities, sailed immediately, taking with him the men, overwhelmed with grief for their defenceless wives and children in the hands of their cruel oppressors. The poor women and helpless children were dragged, suffering from cold, hunger, and fear, before a magistrate, as if they had been guilty of crime. They were treated very harshly, but were finally permitted to join their husbands and fathers in Holland.

Now they were PILGRIMS indeed, strangers in a strange land; "but they lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." They remained about a year at Amsterdam; not satisfied, however, they removed to Leyden. Their integrity and industry, their piety and self-denial, in what they believed to be the cause of truth, elicited the respect of the Dutch. The government officers would have treated them with marked favor, but they feared to offend King James. From year to year they received accessions from their brethren in England. They were still surrounded by evils, which made it necessary for them again to change their homes. Their labors were severe; though frugal and industrious, they obtained a support with great difficulty. The desecration of the Sabbath, the dissolute morals of the disbanded soldiers and sailors among whom they were thrown, caused them to fear for their children.

Holland could not be their permanent home. It dawned upon the minds of the more intelligent, that it was their duty to seek some other land. Their thoughts were directed to the wilderness of the New World. They express not a wish in regard to worldly comfort, but a desire to consecrate all to the great cause of promoting Christianity. CHAP. X. 1616.

Though they had been so harshly treated by England, they loved her still, and were not willing to accept the offers made them, to colonize under the protection of the Dutch. They had heard of the fine climate and the settlement of Virginia, and resolved to apply to the London 1617. Company for permission to emigrate to their territory. For this purpose they sent two of their number, John Carver and Robert Cushman, to confer with the company. Their proposition was favorably received by the excellent Sir Edwin Sandys, the secretary. Their request, signed by the greater part of the congregation, was afterward sent to the company. In it they made a summary of their principles, and a statement of their motives of action. They said, "We verily believe that God is with us, and will prosper us in our endeavors; we are weaned from our mother country, and have learned patience in a hard and strange land. We are industrious and frugal; we are bound together by a sacred bond of the Lord, whereof we make great conscience, holding ourselves to each other's good. We do not wish ourselves 1619. home again; we have nothing to hope from England or Holland; we are men who will not be easily discouraged."

They were to emigrate under the sanction of the company; but owing to dissensions in the company itself, the plan was not carried out. At this time the king was oppressing their brethren in England more and more; the only favor the Pilgrims could obtain from him was a half promise that he would not molest them in the wilds of America. In truth, James wished to be freed from those

CHAP. X.

1619. of his subjects who had any just notions of human rights. Said he, "I would rather live like a hermit in the forest, than be a king over such people as the pack of Puritans that overrule the House of Commons!"

There was yet another difficulty. The Pilgrims were poor—poor indeed; in their persecution and exile they had lost their all. Upon very hard conditions they secured the means to emigrate; yet they were willing to make any sacrifice could they but worship God in peace, and protect the morals of their children.

A company was now formed of London merchants, who agreed to furnish the money, while the emigrant was to give his entire services for seven years; these services were to constitute his stock in the company. The profits were to be reserved to the end of that time, then a valuation of all the property held by the company was to be

1620. made, and the amount distributed to each in proportion to his investment. By contract, the merchant who invested ten pounds received as much as the colonist who gave seven years of labor. This throwing of all their labor and capital into a common stock, was the result of necessity, not of choice.

They purchased one ship, the Speedwell, and hired another, the May-Flower, a ship of one hundred and eighty tons. As these vessels could carry only a part of the congregation, they determined to send the younger and more vigorous, while the pastor, Robinson, and the aged and infirm, were to remain at Leyden. Their ruling Elder, William Brewster, who had suffered much in the cause, and was respected and loved for his integrity, was to conduct the emigrants. Before they left, they observed a day of fasting and prayer. They "sought of God a right way for themselves and their little ones."

The parting address of the venerable Robinson gives us a glimpse of the principles in which, from year to year, he had instructed them. As he addressed them for the

last time, he said: "I charge you before God and his holy angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you, be ready to receive it; for I am verily persuaded the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. I beseech you to remember it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God. Take heed what you receive as truth; examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; the Christian world has not yet come to the perfection of knowledge."

A number of their brethren came from Leyden to Delft-Haven, where they were to embark. The night before their departure was passed in religious intercourse and prayer: as the morning dawned, they prepared to go on board the ship. On the shore they all knelt, and the venerable Robinson led them in prayer—they heard his voice for the last time. They sailed first to Southampton; in a fortnight they left that place for their distant home. It was soon discovered that the Speedwell needs repairs, and they must return. After the lapse of eight days of precious time, they again make the attempt, and still again the captain of the Speedwell asserts that his ship cannot cross the Atlantic. They put back to Plymouth: they there leave the Speedwell, and those whose courage failed them, and to the number of one hundred and one once more commit themselves to the winds and waves, trusting to the good providence of God.

Aug. 5.

Sept. 6.

Let us glance for a moment at the circumstances and characteristics of this company. They were bound together by the strong bonds of religious sympathy—united in interest and purpose, they expected to endure, to suffer, to rejoice together for many years, even to the end of life.

Prominent among them was William Brewster, the ruling elder and lay preacher, already mentioned, who

CHAP. X. 1620.

was to supply the place of the pastor Robinson. He was a man of education, of refined associations, and above all of a lovely and Christian spirit. "He laid his hand to the daily tasks of life, as well as spent his soul in trying to benefit his fellows—so bringing himself as near as possible to the early Christian practices; he was worthy of being the first minister of New England."[1] There was also the dignified and benevolent John Carver, the worthy governor of this band of Christian exiles, who in the cause laid down his fortune, and at length his life—for he soon sank beneath the hardships to which he was unused. These two were comparatively old men, but most of the "Pilgrim Fathers" were in the bloom and vigor of life.

William Bradford was but thirty-two, earnest, sagacious, true and steady in purpose, "a man of nerve and public spirit;" self-educated, and so ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, that amidst all his trials and labors, he accumulated books, and found time to read and even to study them. As a farmer's boy in England, as a dyer in Holland, as the governor of a small nation in the wilds of America, he acted well his part.

Edward Winslow was "a gentleman born," with a mind cultivated by travel and books; gentle in manner as in spirit, his soul melted at the sorrows of others. Miles Standish was a soldier, fearless, but not rash; impetuous, but not vindictive: though not a member of the church, he was strongly attached to its institutions and to its most rigorous advocates. Winslow was twenty six, and Standish thirty-six years of age.

Nov. 10.

A tedious voyage of sixty-three days brought them in sight of Cape Cod. They had left their native land to seek in a howling wilderness an asylum from persecution. They had not the sanction of a charter from their king, and they appealed to no body of men for protection: they

[1] Elliott's History of New England.

must have a government; they were all on an equality, and they now drew up a constitution, or compact, to which the men, servants and all, to the number of forty-one, subscribed their names, and mutually pledged their obedience.

The words of this first constitution, made and adopted by an entire people, plainly indicate whence its principles were derived. They say, "In the name of God, amen: we whose names are underwritten, having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a body politic; and by virtue hereof, to enact such just and equal laws from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." Thus the principle of popular liberty, that laws and constitutions should be framed for the benefit of the entire people, found its utterance in the cabin of the May-Flower, by the act of the people themselves.

John Carver was elected governor for one year. Miles Standish, who had been an officer in the army sent by Queen Elizabeth to aid the Dutch against the Spaniards, was chosen captain. Winter was coming on—they were anxious to land, but unfortunately the shallop needed repairs. In the mean time Standish, Bradford and others, impatient of delay, went to seek a convenient harbor, and a suitable place for the settlement. The country was covered with snow; in one place they found some baskets of corn, and in another an Indian burial-ground.

In a fortnight the shallop was ready for use, and the governor, Winslow, Bradford, and Standish, with others and some seamen, went to explore the bay. The cold was intense, freezing the spray of the sea on their clothes, until, as they expressed it, they were made as hard as iron. They landed occasionally, found graves and a few

CHAP. X. 1620. deserted wigwams, but no other evidence of human beings. On one of these occasions they encamped at night on the shore near where the shallop was moored. The next morning as they were closing their devotions, they were startled by a strange cry—the war-whoop of the savage—it was accompanied by a flight of arrows. At the report of their guns the Indians fled. All that day was spent in seeking a safe harbor for the ship. Near night a violent storm of rain and snow drove them through the breakers into a cove, protected from the blast by a hill. In the midst of the tempest they landed, and with difficulty kindled a fire. In the morning they found they were on an island at the entrance of a harbor. The next day was the Sabbath; though urged by every consideration to hasten to the ship, they religiously observed the day.

Dec. 22. On the morrow, *December twenty-second, one thousand six hundred and twenty*—a day ever to be remembered in the annals of our country, the Pilgrims landed. The place they named after the town in England from which they last sailed. The blessings which have flowed from the settlement of New England are associated with the spot where they first set foot—the ROCK OF PLYMOUTH.

No time was spent in idleness. A place was selected for the settlement, and divided into lots for families. On the third day they began to build; their houses went up but slowly; the forest trees must first be felled and split into timbers; the season was inclement—their strength failed them: many from exposure had received into their bodies the seeds of death; many were sick, and many died. At one time there were only seven of the whole company not disabled by sickness. During the winter, more than forty were numbered with the dead; among these were the wives of Bradford and Winslow, and also Rose, the young bride of Miles Standish. The benevolent Carver lost his son—then he himself sunk in death, soon

to be followed by his broken-hearted widow. They were all buried but a short distance from the rock on which they had landed. Lest the many graves should tell the Indians the story of weakness and death, the spot where they rested was levelled and sown with grass. At length spring drew near, and warm winds from the south moderated the cold. The trees began to put forth their foliage, and among their branches the "birds to sing pleasantly," while the sick were gradually recovering. CHAP. X. 1621. April 5.

When the May-Flower left for England, not one of these heroic men and women desired to leave the land of their adoption. They had now a government; they had a church covenant; they had a constitution under which their rights were secured, and each one according to his individual merit could be respected and honored. So dear to them were these privileges, that all the privations they had suffered, the sickness and death which had been in their midst, the gloomy prospect before them, could not induce them to swerve from their determination to found a State, where these blessings should be the birthright of their children.

Famine pressed hard upon them, for in the autumn they were joined by some new emigrants, who had come ill-provisioned; and for the succeeding six months they had only half a supply. "I have seen men," says Winslow, "stagger by reason of faintness for want of food." Their privations for two or three years were greater than those of any colony planted in the country. But their implicit confidence in the goodness of God was never shaken. At times Indians were seen hovering around their settlement, but no communication had been held with them, as they fled when approached. One day, to their surprise, an Indian boldly entered their village, crying out, welcome Englishmen! welcome Englishmen! It was Samoset. He belonged to the Wampanoags, a tribe Nov. 19.

CHAP. X. 1621.

living in the vicinity. He had learned a few English words from the fishermen on the Penobscot.

Samoset, in the name of his tribe, told the Pilgrims to possess the land, for the year before those to whom it belonged had been swept away by a pestilence. This announcement was a great relief to their fears. Samoset soon again appeared, and with him Squanto, who, as has been mentioned, had been kidnapped and sold into slavery in Spain, had been freed, found his way to England, and finally home. They announced that Massasoit, the grand sachem of the Wampanoags, desired an interview. The chief and his retinue of warriors had taken their position on a neighboring hill. Squanto acted as interpreter. A treaty of friendship was made between the chief and the English, by which they promised to defend each other when attacked by enemies. For more than fifty years, till King Philip's war, this treaty was observed. The Pilgrims offered to pay for the baskets of corn they had found buried; this they did six months afterward when the owners appeared. A trade, very beneficial to the colony, commenced with the Indians, who promised to sell them all their furs.

Why not remember the humble services of Squanto? The Pilgrims looked upon him as a "special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation." He taught them how to plant corn, to put fish with it to make it grow, where to find the fish and how to take them. He was their interpreter and their pilot. Under his tuition they soon raised corn so abundantly as to have a surplus to exchange with the Indians for furs. By means of these furs they obtained from England the merchandise they wanted. He remained their friend till his death, and when dying asked the governor to pray that he might go to the "Englishman's God in heaven."

Massasoit desired the alliance with the Pilgrims as a protection against Canonicus, the chief of the powerful

Narragansetts, who lived on the shores of the beautiful bay which bears their name. Canonicus was not, however, to be deterred from exhibiting his hostility. As a challenge he sent to Plymouth some arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Bradford, who was now governor, sent back the same skin filled with powder and shot. The Indians looked upon it as containing a deadly influence, to be exerted against the enemies of the English. In terror they sent it from tribe to tribe, none of whom dared either keep or destroy it. Finally, the skin and its contents were returned to the colony. Canonicus himself, in a short time, desired an alliance of peace; evidently more from fear than from good-will.

In trade the Pilgrims took no advantage of the ignorance of the Indians. They became involved in difficulties with them, however, through the improper conduct of others.

Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, who had invested money in the enterprise of founding the Plymouth Colony, now wished to engross the entire profits of the fur trade with the Indians. He obtained a patent for a small district, near Weymouth, on Boston harbor, and sent over about sixty men, chiefly indented servants. These men ill treated the Indians, stole their corn, and thus excited their hostility. The savage seeks redress by murdering those who do him wrong. The Indians did not distinguish between the honesty and good-will of the Pilgrims, and the dishonesty and evil acts of "Weston's men;" they plotted to involve all the white strangers in one common ruin. Massasoit was dangerously sick; Winslow kindly visited him; turned out of the wigwam the Indian doctors, who were making a great noise to drive off the disease, and relieved the chief by giving him medicine and quiet. The grateful Massasoit revealed the plot. The people were greatly alarmed; they had heard of a terrible massacre in Virginia, and they feared such would be their

CHAP. X.

1623. Mar. 23. own experience. Not a moment was to be lost; they must act in self-defence. Captain Standish hastened with eight men to the assistance of those at Weymouth. He arrived in time not only to prevent the attack, but to surprise the Indians themselves. In the conflict, the principal plotting chief and some of his men were killed. This exploit taught the Indians to respect the English; many of the neighboring chiefs now sought peace and alliance. When the good pastor, Mr. Robinson, heard of this conflict, he exclaimed, "Oh that they had converted some before they killed any!" One year saw the beginning and the end of this trading establishment at Weymouth. Apprehension of danger from the natives was now removed.

Since 1863. As "Thanksgiving" has now become a national festival, the manner in which it was first instituted has a peculiar interest. In the autumn of 1623, after the fruits of the harvest were gathered in, Governor Bradford sent out a company for game, to furnish dainty materials for a feast. God had blessed their labors, and this was to be a feast of THANKS-GIVING. "So they met together and thanked God with all their hearts, for the good world and the good things in it."

The merchant partners in England complained of the small profits derived from their investments. They began to neglect the interests of the colony, and to manifest their displeasure in various ways. They would not permit Robinson and his family, with the remainder of the church at Leyden, to join their friends at Plymouth. They sold the colonists goods at enormous prices, and sent a ship to rival them in their limited fur trade. They outraged their feelings by attempting to force upon them one Lyford, a clergyman friendly to the Established Church. Lyford was expelled from Plymouth, not on account of his religious views, but, according to Bradford, for conduct injurious to the colony and immorality.

In time industry and frugality triumphed; the Pilgrims in five or six years were able to purchase the entire stock of those who were annoying them in this ungenerous manner. The stock and the land were equitably divided, and the arrangement of private property fully carried out, each one becoming the owner of a piece of land. Nov. 1627.

Though the Pilgrims had no charter, they formed a government upon the most liberal principles. They had a governor, who was chosen by the people, and whose power was limited by a council of five. For more than eighteen years the whole male population were the legislators. 1640.

They were the pioneers of religious freedom—the openers of an asylum in the New World, to which the persecuted for religion's sake, and political opinions, have been flocking from that day to this. Says Governor Bradford, in his history of the colony: "Out of small beginnings great things have been produced, by His hand that made all things out of nothing; and as one small candle will light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea to our whole nation."

CHAPTER XI.

COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

A Company organized.—Settlement of Salem.—The Charter transferred.—Boston and Vicinity settled.—Encouragements.—Disputes.—Roger Williams; his Banishment; he founds Providence.—Discussions renewed.—Anne Hutchinson,—Settlement of Rhode Island.—The Dutch at Hartford; Disputes with.—Migrations to the fertile Valley of the Connecticut; Hooker and Haynes.—Springfield.—Fort at Saybrooke.—Pequods become hostile.—Expeditions against them; their utter Ruin.—Rev. John Davenport.—Settlement of New Haven.—Sir Ferdinand Gorges.—New Hampshire.—The United Colonies.—The Providence Plantations.—Educated Men.—Harvard College.—The Printing Press.—Common Schools.—Grammar Schools.—Quakers; Persecution of.—Eliot the Apostle.—The Mayhews.—Progress.

CHAP. XI.

1624.

PERSECUTION raged through the reign of James, and threatened to continue through the reign of his son and successor, Charles I.

The various accounts sent to England by the colonists at Plymouth, excited great interest, especially in the minds of the Puritans. They listened to them as to a vioce from Heaven, calling upon them to leave their native land, and join their brethren in these ends of the earth. This was not wild enthusiasm, but the calm promptings of duty.

Pamphlets were published giving descriptions of the land of promise; it promised not wealth and ease, but only peace and quietness. There were many who preferred these, with toils and privations in the wilds of America, to religious persecutions in their own land.

CHAP. XI.

The Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, was a controlling spirit in the enterprise. He was a Puritan, but not of the Separatists from the Established Church, as were Robinson and his congregation. 1624.

1620. The Council of Plymouth had taken the place of the old Plymouth Company. This council had no worthier object than gain; it granted the same region to different individuals, and thus laid the foundation for endless disputes. It sold to some gentlemen of Dorchester a belt of territory, extending from three miles south of Massachusetts bay to three miles north of any part of Merrimac river, and, as usual, west to the Pacific. The company prepared to send a colony. The care of the enterprise was intrusted to one of their number, John Endicott, a man of stern character and sterling integrity. He brought with him his family, and about one hundred other persons; they landed at Salem, and there commenced the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Men of wealth and influence, such as Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Saltonstall, Bellingham, Johnson, Simon Bradstreet, William Coddington, and others, who afterward exerted a great influence in the colony, were willing to bear a part in carrying the "pure gospel" to New England. The king looked upon the colony about to be founded more as a trading corporation than as the germ of an independent nation, and he willingly gave them a charter, under which they lived more than fifty years. By the terms of this charter the royal signature was not necessary to give validity to the laws made under it.

1628.

Sept. 14.

Mar., 1629.

Soon another choice company, in which "no idle persons were found," was ready to sail. The good Francis Higginson accompanied them as their minister. As the shores of England receded from sight, Higginson expressed the feelings of the emigrants; as from the deck of the ship his eyes turned for the last time to his native land, he exclaimed, "Farewell, England!—farewell, all

CHAP. XI.

1629. June, Christian friends!—we separate not from the church, but from its corruptions;—we go to spread the gospel in America." There were about two hundred in this company; the majority remained at Salem, the rest went to Charlestown. Privations and exposure brought sickness, and before the end of a year death had laid his hand on more than half their number, among whom was their pastor, Higginson. When the summons came, the dying seemed only to regret that they were not permitted to aid their brethren in founding a pure church in the wilderness.

The charter contained no provision for the rights of the people, it left them at the mercy of the corporation; and as long as that charter remained in England, they could take no part in their own government. It was also silent on the subject of their religious freedom; at any moment this might be interfered with by the king and his clergy. There was only one way to be freed from such undue interference. By the charter their governing council could choose the place of meeting for the transaction of business. It was a bold step; but they chose, hereafter, to meet on the soil of the colony. This transfer of the governing council and charter made its government virtually independent.

The officers were to be a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants. These were elected before leav-
1630. ing England. John Winthrop was chosen governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy governor. A fleet of seventeen ships set sail with the officers elect, and fifteen hundred emigrants; they arrived in June and July. Their arrival was opportune, for those who had preceded them were in great distress from sickness and scarcity of food.

Settlements were now made at various places around the bay; Charlestown, Newton, Dorchester, Watertown. A fine spring of pure water, on the peninsula called Shawmut, induced the governor and some other persons to settle there. The position was central, and it became

the capital, under the name of BOSTON. The change of climate and mode of living brought disease upon great numbers; yet they looked upon their sorrows as so many trials, designed to make them appreciate still more the blessings which the future had in store for them. As they hoped, these evils gradually passed away, and prosperity smiled. CHAP. XI. 1630.

At first, the assistants could hold office for life, and in addition it was their privilege to elect the governor. The people became jealous of their liberties; the dispute was compromised by their electing their magistrates annually. They were to be chosen by the freemen of the colony, of whom no one who was not a church member could have a vote. This law was injudicious, though enacted with the best intentions. They wished a government based on purely religious principles, and they thought to secure such a government by allowing none but the religious to take part in it. Another change was made from the purely democratic form, when all the freemen met in convention and voted on the laws, to that of the republican, when the people elected deputies, who were authorized to legislate and transact the affairs of the colony. 1634.

The colonists dealt honestly with the Indians and endeavored to preserve their good will. They "were to buy their lands, and not to intrude upon, and in no respect injure them;" they also "hoped to send the gospel to the poor natives." Many of the neighboring chiefs desired their friendship. One came from the distant river Connecticut; he extolled its fertile valleys and blooming meadows; he offered them land near him, because he wished their protection against the brave and fiery Pequods. Fraternal and Christian intercourse was held from time to time with the old colony of Plymouth; as a harbinger of the future, there came from Virginia a vessel laden with corn; and the Dutch, who some years before had settled at Manhattan, visited them with kindly greetings. Thus dawned a brighter day.

CHAP. XI.

1635. During this year more than three thousand persons came from England, many of whom were men of influence, wealth, and education. Prominent among these was Hugh Peters, an eloquent clergyman, and Harry Vane, a young man of much promise, the son and heir of a privy-councillor—a fact of some importance in the eyes of the people. Vane, however, was a true Republican. The people the next year unwisely elected him governor, in place of the dignified and benevolent Winthrop.

The Puritans had experienced all the evils of religious intolerance, but unfortunately they had not themselves learned to be lenient. In the colony there was a young clergyman, Roger Williams, a man of ardent temperament, a clear reasoner, and very decided in his opinions. He came in conflict with the magistrates, as he advanced sentiments which they deemed subversive of all authority,—such as that obedience to the magistrate should not be enforced—that the oath of allegiance should not be required: he also denounced the law that compelled all persons to attend worship, as an infringement of the rights of conscience; he said the service of the church should be supported by its members, and not by a tax upon all the people. His principles were in advance of the age in which he lived: one hundred and forty years after this time they were fully carried out. He contended that the charter from the king was invalid; the Indians were the original proprietors. The people repelled the aspersion as unjust, because they had purchased their lands from the Indians, and acknowledged their rights by making treaties with them. The context waxed warm. Williams accepted an invitation to Salem: the

Oct. people of that place were admonished by the General Court to beware, lest they should encourage sedition. Upon this he retired to Plymouth,—there for two years he maintained his opinions unmolested. The people of the old colony had learned the lesson of toleration in their exile in Holland.

Williams was again invited to Salem, in open defiance of the authority of the General Court, the governing power of the colony. A committee of ministers held conferences and discussions with him, but without inducing him to retract. As the people of Salem sustained him, the Court admonished them, and pronounced the sentence of banishment against Williams. It was not the expression of opinions on the subject of conscience, or "soul-oppression," as he termed it, that alarmed the Court, but the expression of opinions which, if carried into effect, would, they affirmed, destroy all human government. CHAP. XI. 1635.

In midwinter, Williams became a wanderer for conscience' sake. He went to the sons of the forest for that protection denied him by his Christian brethren. For fourteen weeks he wandered; sometimes he received the simple hospitality of the natives; sometimes his lodging-place was a hollow tree. At last he was received into the cabin of Massasoit, at Mount Hope. He was the Indians' friend, and they loved him. He thought of settling at Seekonk, on Pawtucket river; that place being within the bounds of the Plymouth colony, Winslow, the governor, advised him to remove beyond their limits, lest it should create difficulty with the Bay colony. Williams received this advice in the spirit in which it was given, and removed to the country of the Narragansets. With five companions in a canoe, he went round to the west side of the arm of the bay. Landing at a beautiful spot, he found a spring of pure water. He resolved there to make a settlement. In thankfulness he called the place PROVIDENCE. Tradition at this day points out the spring near which he built his cabin. Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansets, would not sell his land, but gave him a little domain "to enjoy forever." 1636.

Williams here put in practice his theory of government. The land was given to him, and he distributed it to his followers. It was purely a government of the peo-

CHAP. XI.

ple. All promised to obey the voice of the majority in temporal things: in things spiritual, to obey only God.

1637. Discussions were still rife in Massachusetts on all subjects. The men held meetings, in which they discussed matters pertaining to their liberties; edified each other with expositions of passages of Scripture, and criticized the weekly sermons of their ministers. As women were not allowed to speak in these meetings, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of great eloquence and talent, thought the rights of her sex were not properly respected; she therefore held meetings for their benefit at her own house. At these meetings, theological opinions were advocated, at variance with those of the ministers and magistrates. The people became divided into two parties, and the affair soon took a political turn: on the one side were arrayed Winthrop and the older settlers, and with few exceptions, the ministers: on the other, Governor Vane and the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson. She and her party were accustomed to speak of themselves as "being under a covenant of grace," and of their opponents as "being under a covenant of works." These indefinite pharses irritated her opponents exceedingly. They proclaimed her a despiser of all spiritual authority; "like Roger Williams, or worse;" and darkly insinuated that she was a witch. The friends of Mrs. Hutchinson spoke of appealing to the king; this was downright treason in the eyes of their opponents,—their allegiance was given to the government of the colony, not to the king. A convention of ministers was held, they investigated her doctrines, and declared them unsound and injurious. At the ensuing election, Winthrop was chosen governor; and soon after Vane left for England. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers were admonished, but without effect; she, with her brother-in-law John Wheelwright, and

1638. others, were exiled from the colony. How much wiser it would have been had the magistrates permitted her to

exercise her "gift of discussing," even if she did say they were "under a covenant of works!" CHAP. XI.

Roger Williams invited the exiles to settle in his vicinity. By his influence they obtained from Miantonomoh, the nephew and prospective successor of Canonicus, a beautiful island, which they named the Isle of Rhodes. Here this little company of not more than twenty persons, formed a settlement. William Coddington, who had been a magistrate in the Bay Colony, was elected judge or ruler. They, too, covenanted with each other to obey the laws made by the majority, and to respect the rights of conscience. Mrs. Hutchinson and her family remained here several years, and then removed farther west beyond New Haven, into the territory of the Dutch; there she and all her family who were with her, with the exception of one daughter, who was taken captive, were murdered by the Indians. 1638. Oct. 1643.

The Dutch from Manhattan explored the Connecticut river six years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. They erected a fortified trading-house near where Hartford now stands, but by ill-treating the Indians they excited their hostility, and lost a trade that might have been valuable. 1614.

Unable to occupy the territory, and unwilling to lose its advantages, they invited the Pilgrims to leave the sterile soil of Plymouth and remove to the fertile vales of the Connecticut, and live under their protection. The invitation was not accepted; but as the Pilgrims were convinced that a change to more fertile lands was desirable, Governor Winslow went on an exploring tour to that region; having found the soil as fertile as had been represented he promoted emigration. 1627. 1632.

The Council of Plymouth had given a grant of Connecticut to the Earl of Warwick, who the next year transferred his claim or patent to Lords Say and Brooke, John 1630.

CHAP. XI.

1633. Hampden, and others. The eastern boundary of this grant was the Narraganset river, and the western the Pacific ocean. When the Dutch learned of this grant, they purchased of the Indians the tract of land in the vicinity of Hartford, on which stood their trading-house, and prepared to defend their rights; they erected a fort and mounted two cannons, to prevent the English from ascending the river. In the latter part of the year Captain William Holmes, who was sent by Governor Winslow, arrived in a sloop, with a company, and prepared to make a settlement. The Dutch commandant threatened him with destruction if he should attempt to pass his fort. The undaunted Holmes passed by uninjured, and put up a fortified house at Windsor. He was not permitted to enjoy his place in peace; the next year the Dutch made an effort to drive him away, but not succeeding they compromised the matter by relinquishing all claim to the valley. The parties agreed upon a dividing line, very nearly the same as that existing at this day between the States of New York and Connecticut. As the natural meadows on the Connecticut would furnish much more grass and hay for their cattle than the region nearer the sea-shore, many of the Pilgrims determined to remove thither.

1635. The following autumn, a party of sixty persons, men, women, and children, undertook the desperate work of going through the woods and swamps from Plymouth to Connecticut. The journey was laborious and the suffering great. When they arrived at the river the ground

Nov. was covered with snow, the precursor of an unusually severe winter. A sloop from Plymouth, laden with provisions and their household furniture, failed to reach them on account of storms and ice. Their cattle all perished; a little corn obtained from the Indians, and acorns, were their only food; they barely escaped starvation.

During this year three thousand persons came to Boston from England. Among these was the Reverend

Thomas Hooker, who has been called "The Light of the Western Churches." He was a man of great eloquence, and of humble piety; his talents, of a high order, commanded universal respect, while his modesty won him ardent friends. When he was silenced for non-conformity in England, great numbers of the clergy of the Established Church petitioned that he might be restored. But in those days to be a Non-Conformist was an unpardonable offence. CHAP. XI. 1635.

A portion of his congregation had emigrated the year before. When he arrived at Boston with the remainder of his flock, the colony was in a ferment—the Williams controversy was going on; his people were wearied with the turmoil. John Haynes, who was a member of his congregation in England, and who had been Governor of Massachusetts, determined, with others, to remove to Connecticut. In the spring, a company, under the lead of Hooker and Haynes, set out from the vicinity of Boston for the pleasant valley. They numbered about one hundred persons, some of whom had been accustomed to the luxuries of life in England. With no guide but a compass they entered the untrodden wilderness; toiled on foot over hills and valleys; waded through swamps and forded streams. They subsisted principally on the milk of the kine that they drove before them, and which browsed on the tender leaves and grass. They moved but slowly. Their sick they carried on litters. The trustful spirit of piety and faith was present, and the silence of the forest was broken for the first time by Christian songs of praise. The man whose eloquence in his native land attracted crowds of the educated and refined, now, in the wilderness, comforted and cherished the humble exiles for religion's sake. The first of July brought an end to their laborious journey. The greater part of the company remained at Hartford; some went up the river and founded Springfield; some went down and joined those at Wethersfield. Mar., 1636.

CHAP. XI.

John Winthrop, the younger, who had been sent to England on business for the colony, returned as agent for
1636. Lords Say and Brooke. He was directed to build a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut river; it was named
1635. Saybrooke.

These settlements were now threatened with destruction. The valley of the river and the region adjoining were more densely populated with Indians than any portion of New England. The powerful Pequods, the most warlike tribe in the country, numbered almost two thousand warriors, and ruled over a number of smaller tribes; they inhabited the south-eastern part of Connecticut, and the shore of Long Island Sound to the mouth of Connecticut river, and west almost to the Hudson. The Mohegans, who dwelt in the north-eastern part of Connecticut, and the Narragansets, who lived around Narraganset bay, were the enemies of the Pequods and the friends of the English. The Pequods were jealous of
1636. the English, not merely because they had settled near them, but because they were friendly to their enemies. These Pequods were charged with murdering, some years before, a Virginia trader, named Stone, with his crew, on the Connecticut river. Stone had the reputation of being intemperate and quarrelsome; the Pequods said that he had attacked them and they killed him in self-defence. Captain Oldham, who was exploring the Connecticut, was murdered, with his crew, by the Indians living on Block Island. Captain John Endicott was sent to punish the murderers. Previous to this the Pequods had sent chiefs to Boston to make an alliance, and explain the difficulty in relation to the Virginia trader. They promised to deliver up—so the magistrates understood them—the two men who had killed him. Endicott was ordered to call, on his way home from Block Island, at the Pequod town, and demand the promised satisfaction. The Indians, according to their custom, offered a ransom for the two men

but refused to give them up to certain death. Endicott had no respect for their customs; he must have blood for blood. Angry at their refusal, he burned two of their villages and destroyed their corn. It was after this that the Pequods began to prowl about the settlements, and pick off stragglers, until they had, during the winter, killed more than thirty persons. CHAP. XI. 1636.

The people in the Connecticut valley were in great alarm; they knew not at what moment nor at what point the storm would burst. They called upon Massachusetts for aid; only twenty men were sent under Captain Underhill. The whole community were so much absorbed in discussing theological questions with Mrs. Hutchinson that every other consideration was overlooked.

Although the Pequods were more warlike and more numerous than any other tribe, they were not willing to enter upon the war single-handed. They sent a deputation to Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansets, to enlist him against the common enemy. Governor Vane wrote to Roger Williams, urging him, if possible, to prevent the alliance. Williams hastened to visit Miantonomoh; he found the Pequod chiefs already there, urging their ancient enemy to join them and exterminate the white intruders—the Narragansets were wavering. At the risk of his life, Williams labored for three days to prevent these tribes uniting their forces against the colonists. The disappointed and angry Pequods threatened him with death. He not only prevented the alliance, but obtained the promise of the Narragansets to aid the English. Meantime, he sent a messenger to Boston to warn them of the impending danger. Oct.

At length the infant settlements of Connecticut in convention at Hartford declared war against the Pequods. The little army of not more than eighty men, including those sent from Massachusetts, assembled at Hartford: the pious Hooker exhorted them, and gave the May 10, 1637.

CHAP. XI. 1637. staff of command to Captain John Mason, who had been a soldier in the Netherlands. At the request of the soldiers, part of the night preceding the day they were to march was spent in prayer. Stone, one of their ministers, accompanied them as chaplain. They floated down the river, and sailed round the coast to Narraganset bay, intending to go across the country, and attack the Pequods in their fort. As the latter had a very exalted opinion of their own prowess, they supposed the English were making their escape, when they saw them sailing past the mouth of the Pequod, now the Thames river. The English landed at a harbor in the bay, and religiously observed the Sabbath. On the following day they repaired to

May 21. Canonicus, the old Narraganset chief, but his nephew Miantonomoh hesitated to join them; their numbers were so small, and the Pequods so numerous. Two hundred warriors, however, consented to accompany them, but as rather doubtful friends—and about seventy Mohegans joined them under their chief Uncas.

Sassacus, the bold chief of the Pequods, was too confident in the strength of his two forts, and in the bravery of his warriors to be cautious. His main fort, on the top of a high hill, was defended by posts driven in the ground, and deemed by him impregnable. He was yet to experience an attack from the English. In the night Mason, guided by an Indian deserter, approached the main fort, and halted within hearing of the triumphant shouts of the Pequods, as they exulted over his supposed flight. Toward the break of day the English moved to the attack, while their Indian allies took a position to surround the fort.

May 26. The coming struggle was one of life or death to all that was dear to the little army: if they were defeated, all hope would be lost for their families on the Connecticut. The barking of a dog awoke the Indian sentinel; he rushed into the fort with the cry, The English! the English! In a moment more, the English were through the palisades, and fighting hand to hand with the half awak-

ened warriors. Their numbers were overwhelming. "We must burn them," shouted Mason, as he applied a torch to the dry reeds which covered a wigwam—the flames spread with great rapidity. All was in confusion—as the despairing warriors vainly endeavored to extinguish the flames they became targets for the English marksmen. The Narragansets and Mohegans now joined in the conflict. More than six hundred of the Pequods perished, men, women, and children in one common ruin, merciless and unrelenting: only seven escaped. In an hour's time the work was done; just then appeared the warriors, three hundred strong, from the other fort. They came forth expecting victory. When they perceived the ruin which had come upon their friends, they raved and stamped the ground in despair. Mason with a chosen band held them in check, till the remainder of the army had embarked on the boats, which had come round from Narraganset Bay. Then they hastened home, lest there should be a sudden attack upon the settlements. CHAP. XI. 1637.

In a few days Captain Stoughton arrived from Massachusetts with one hundred men. The spirit of the Pequods was broken; they fled to the west, and were pursued with untiring energy. Their villages were burnt—their cornfields destroyed—their women and children slain without mercy. They took refuge in a swamp, and in desperation once more made a stand: again they were overwhelmed with great slaughter. Sassacus, their chief, escaped with a few followers, and made his way to the Mohawks, where he was afterward basely murdered by one of his own subjects. The remainder, old and young, surrendered to the victors, who disposed of them: some they gave as captives of war to their enemies, the Narragansets and Mohegans; and some they sent to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Their territory was declared to be conquered, and their name to be blotted out. They were the foremost in that mournful procession in which the Indian race, from June. Aug.

CHAP. XI.

1637. that day to this, have been moving on toward utter extermination. This terrible example of the white man's power sent a thrill of horror through the other tribes; and for more than forty years, they dared not raise an arm in defence of the graves of their fathers.

1638. The year following, John Davenport, a celebrated clergyman of London, arrived at Boston—with him came his friend Theophilus Eaton, a rich merchant. They and their associates had been exiled. They were cordially welcomed in Massachusetts, and urgently pressed to remain in that colony. They preferred to go into the wilderness rather than dwell in the midst of so much controversy. Rumor had told of the fine region found to the west by the pursuers of the Pequods. Eaton, with a few men, after exploring the coast of the Sound, spent the following winter at a desirable place in that region. As soon as spring opened, the company sailed from Boston; in due time they arrived at the place where Eaton had spent the winter; there, under a large tree, on the Sabbath April. after their arrival, Davenport preached his first sermon in the wilderness. A day of fasting and prayer for direction was observed, and then they formed a government, pledging themselves "to be governed in all things by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." Such was the settlement of NEW HAVEN, and thus was it to be governed. They purchased from the Indians the right to the land—Eaton was elected governor; and to the end of his life, for more than twenty years, he was annually chosen to that office.

After the war with the Pequods was ended, the people of the several settlements on the Connecticut held a convention at Hartford, and adopted a constitution and 1639. form of government. The constitution was framed on liberal principles. They agreed to "maintain the purity of the gospel," and in civil affairs to be governed by the laws made under their constitution. No jurisdiction was admitted to belong to the King of England. Every one

who took the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth was entitled to vote. The governor and the other officers were to be chosen annually by ballot. The number of their representatives to the General Assembly was to be apportioned to the towns, according to the number of inhabitants. For one hundred and fifty years this constitution remained in force. CHAP. XI. 1639.

Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason obtained, from their associates of the Council of Plymouth, a grant of land, lying partly in New Hampshire and partly in Maine. 1622. This was named Laconia. A small number of emigrants were sent over, who settled at Portsmouth, Dover, and a few other places near the mouth of the Piscataqua. Wheelwright, when banished from Massachusetts, settled with his fellow-exiles at Exeter. These settlements progressed very slowly. Only a few trading houses were scattered along the coast, and for many years they took no more permanent form. These settlers were not all Puritans, and were but little united among themselves; yet, they applied and were annexed to the colony of 1641. Massachusetts. The General Court agreed not to insist that the freemen and deputies should be church members.

In all their troubles the colonists of New England had 1639. never appealed to the mother country. They felt under no obligation to her; she had driven them forth with a harsh hand to take care of themselves, or to perish in the wilderness. A spirit of independence pervaded their minds. They had the energy and industry to sustain themselves, and the courage to act in every emergency.

Rumors had reached them that unprincipled men were planning to take away their charter; that Archbishop Laud was meditating to establish over them the rule of the Church of England; that a governor-general had been appointed, and was on his way.

They would not recognize the right of the king even

CHAP. XI.

to investigate by what authority they held their charter, lest it might be inferred that they were in any respect dependent upon his will. For the same reason, when the Long Parliament professed to be their friends, they respectfully declined any favors. When they feared an attempt to place over them a royal governor, and to change their colony into a royal province, they determined to defend their liberties, and poor as they were, raised six hundred pounds for fortifications.

1639.

1640. Twenty thousand emigrants were in New England, when the Puritans of the mother country, galled beyond endurance by the outrages committed on their rights and persons, commenced that fearful struggle, which, in its throes, overturned the throne, and brought the tyrannical Charles I. to the scaffold, and established the Commonwealth under Cromwell. During this period emigration almost entirely ceased. Many hastened home to England to engage in the conflict, among whom were the Rev. Hugh Peters and Harry Vane. They both perished on the scaffold after the Restoration.

The colonists, though unmolested by the home government, were still surrounded with dangers. They were in the midst of hostile Indians; the French were threatening them in the North-East, and the Dutch in the West. For mutual safety and interest, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, joined themselves

1643. together, under the title of "THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND." Each was to be perfectly free in the management of its own affairs; while those which properly belonged to the whole confederacy were to be intrusted to commissioners — two from each colony. Church-membership was the only qualification required of these commissioners. The expenses of the government were to be assessed according to the number of inhabitants. The purity of the gospel was also to be preserved. This confederacy, the germ of "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA," lasted forty years. Rhode Island

was not permitted to join it because she would not acknowledge the jurisdiction of Plymouth. The two settlements on Narraganset bay now determined to apply for an independent charter. When, for this purpose, Roger Williams arrived in England, he found the country engaged in civil war; the Puritans and Parliament on the one side and Charles I. on the other. Williams applied to his friend Harry Vane, and through his influence obtained from the Parliament a charter, under the title of "The Providence Plantations." Roger Williams afterwards became a Baptist, and founded the first church of that denomination in the United States. 1643. 1644.

A very great number of men of education, ministers and laymen, emigrated to New England. There were of ministers alone more than eighty, some of whom were equal to any of their profession in their native land. There was an unusual amount of general intelligence among all classes of the community. The Bible to them was as familiar as household words. In truth, it was the intelligent alone who could appreciate the blessings for which they exiled themselves. They wished to secure for their children the benefits of education; and as soon as possible an effort was made to found a high school and ultimately a college. Funds, with some books, were obtained. The place selected was Newtown, but as many of the men had been educated at Cambridge University, England, the name was changed to Cambridge. The Rev. John Harvard left the infant institution half his fortune and his library. Gratitude has embalmed his memory in its name. 1638.

The next year a printing-press, the gift of some friends in Holland, was established. Its first work was to print a metrical version of the Psalms, which continued for a long time to be used in the worship of the churches in New England. The following preamble explains the next law on the subject of education:—"It being a chief project of that old deluder Sathan to keep men from the 1639.

CHAP. XI.

1647. knowledge of the Scriptures," it was determined that every child, rich and poor alike, should have the privilege of learning to read its own language. It was enacted that every town or district having fifty householders should have a common school; and that every town or district, having one hundred families, should have a grammar-school, taught by teachers competent to prepare youth for the college. All the New Enlagnd colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, adopted the system of common schools.

This event deserves more than a mere record. It was the first instance in CHRISTENDOM, in which a civil government took measures to confer upon its youth the blessings of education. There had been, indeed, parish schools connected with individual churches, and foundations for universities, but never before was embodied in practice a principle so comprehensive in its nature and so fruitful in good results, as that of training a nation of intelligent people by educating *all* its youth.

There had arisen among the Puritans in England a new sect, called in derision Quakers. An unfavorable report of their doctrines and doings had reached Massachusetts; they were represented as denouncing all forms of worship and denying all civil authority. At length two

1653. women of the dreaded sect appeared; they were arrested and detained until their books could be examined, and the question was raised whether they themselves were not witches. Their books were burnt by the hangman, and they sent back to England. Barbarous laws were made to deter Quakers from coming to the colony; but they came, and were inhumanly treated and sent back. Then a law was passed that if a Quaker, after being banished, returned, he should be put to death. This the magistrates fondly hoped would be effectual. We may judge their surprise when some of those who had been banished returned. They came to call the magistrates to repentance for their persecuting spirit. What was to be done?

Must the law be enforced or repealed? It had been passed by only one majority. The vote was taken again; one majority decided that the law must be obeyed. Four of the Quakers suffered the penalty of death. Severity did not accomplish the end in view; their brethren flocked to Massachusetts as if courting the honor of martyrdom. From the first the people had been opposed to the cruel law, and at their instance it was repealed. There was little apology for these harsh proceedings; the magistrates could only say they acted in self-defence, in excluding those who taught doctrines that would interfere with the affairs of the colony. As soon as persecution ceased, the 1656. Quakers became quiet citizens; many of them devoted themselves to teaching the Indians under the direction of the missionary Eliot.

The Puritans had long desired to carry the gospel to 1645. the Indians. John Eliot, the devout and benevolent pastor of the church in Roxbury, in addition to his pastoral labors, gave them regular instruction in Christianity. He learned their language that he might preach to them; he translated the Bible, and taught them to read in their own tongue its precious truths. This translation, which cost him years of labor, is now valued only as a literary curiosity; it is a sealed book, no living man can read it. The language has passed away with the people who spoke it.

Their kind instructor induced them to cease from roving, and to settle in villages; he taught the men to cultivate the soil, and the women to spin and weave cloth, to supply their wants. He mingled with them as a brother; and though he met with much opposition from their priests and chiefs, he led many of them in the right path. His disciples loved him; his gentleness and goodness won their hearts.

As he lived, so he died, laboring for the good of others. In his last days, when borne down by years and infirmi-

CHAP. XI. 1645.

ties, he said, "My memory, my utterance fails me, but I thank God my charity holds out still." Even up to the day of his death, which took place when he was eighty-six years of age, he continued to teach some poor negroes and a little blind boy. To Minister Walton, who came to see him, he said, "Brother, you are welcome, but retire to your study, and pray that I may be gone." Soon after, without a fear or a pang, the spirit of this good "Apostle" passed away; his last words were "Welcome joy!"

Eliot was not alone in his labors. The young, the winning, the pious Mayhew, an accomplished scholar, thought it a privilege to toil for the souls of the poor Indians who lived upon the islands in and around Massachusetts bay. He took passage for England to excite there an interest in his mission. He was never heard of more; the ship in which he sailed went down in unknown waters. His father, although at this time seventy years of age, was moved to take his place as a teacher of the Indians. There, for twenty-two years, he labored with the happiest results, till death withdrew him from the work.

Let us glance at the inner life of these colonists during the first generation or two after their settlement in the wilderness. In these earlier days the magistrates had a sort of patriarchal authority over the community, somewhat as a parent over his own household. And as the inhabitants were then comparatively few in number, and were perhaps known individually to the respective magistrates in their own vicinity, the influence of the latter was more directly exercised than when the population had largely increased. The children received instruction in Scripture lessons, and in the catechism, as well as in the very important virtue—obedience to parents. In all such matters the magistrates and ministers took a special interest, and thus aided the parents in training the young. Nor is it strange, under these considerations,

that the magistrates censured the wearing of costly apparel, and the following of vain new fashions, because the people were poor and did wrong, they thought, to waste their means on dress unnecessarily expensive, and they exercised their prerogative as a parent who reproves the extravagance of his children. Their descendants sometimes smile at what they term the crude notions of these Puritan fathers; but do these sons and daughters reflect how they themselves acquired this consciousness of their own superiority over their ancestors who lived more than two hundred years ago? Their own attainments unquestionably have been the result of that severe training continued from generation to generation; each succeeding one modified and refined by the experience, the education, and correct moral influence of the one preceding; so that each generation thus profiting, unconsciously rose to a still higher plane of Christianized civilization. This result is in accordance with the God-implanted principle in the hearts of parents, to desire that their children should have better advantages than they themselves enjoyed in their own youth. The Puritans were far in advance of their contemporaries in the training of their children and households in the sterling virtues of honor and integrity; these combined influences have produced, in the course of five or six generations, the most remarkable progress known to history.

The Puritans felt the vast importance of sacred things, and were strenuous in carrying out their principles. They were careful to leave off labor at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon to prepare for the Sabbath. They went to church, heard sermons twice a day, each two hours long, heard prayers and sang psalms of proportionate length, and enjoyed it. The tithing-man passed round with his staff of office, on the one end of which was a brass ball, on the other a tuft of feathers: with the former he tapped the heads of the men who fell asleep during the

CHAP. XI.

1645.

sermon; with the latter he gently tickled the faces of the drowsy women.

They were not so democratic as to make no distinctions in social life.[1] The term gentleman was seldom used; the well-born and the well-bred by courtesy received the title of *Mr.*, while the common folk were dignified with that of *Goodman* or *Goody*. These titles were sometimes taken away by the court as a punishment. It is recorded that *Mr.* Josias Plaistow robbed an Indian of corn, for which he was sentenced to lose his title of *Mr.*, and henceforth to be known only as *Josias*. Their luxuries were few indeed, but the women prized none more highly than that of *tea*. In those days it was customary for them to carry their own china cup and saucer and spoon to visiting parties. To be the possessor of a "tea equipage of silver" was deemed a worldly desire, to be sure, but not of an objectionable kind; it was commendable.

Though there has been associated with these colonists a certain austere manner, chilling the heart of cheerfulness, yet let it not be forgotten they had their innocent pleasure parties, especially when the neighbors joined to aid each other in harvest times or in house-raisings. The farmers and their families were accustomed to go in groups at least once a year, to spend a season at the seashore and supply themselves with salt and fish. They usually went at the close of harvest, when the weather was suitable for camping out. If they rejected the festival of *Christmas* as a relic or "Popery," they instituted *Thanksgiving*, and enjoyed it with as much relish as the entire Nation does to-day.

Within thirty years great changes had taken place in the colony. The people were prosperous; industry and self-denial had wrought wonders.

[1] Elliott's History of New England.

CHAP. XI.

Says an enthusiastic chronicler of the times:[1] "The Lord hath been pleased to turn all the wigwams, huts, and hovels the English dwelt in at their first coming, into orderly, fair, and well-built houses, well furnished, many of them, with orchards filled with goodly fruit-trees and garden flowers." The people had numerous cattle and herds of sheep and swine, and plenty of poultry; their fields produced an abundance of wheat, rye, oats, barley, and Indian corn; and they could furnish fish, lumber, and many commodities for export. "This poor wilderness hath equalized England in food, and goes beyond it for the plenty of wine, and apples, pears, quince-tarts, instead of their former pumpkin pies." "Good white and wheaten bread is no dainty; the poorest person in the country hath a house and land of his own, and bread of his own growing—if not some cattle." 1645.

These good things were not obtained without labor. Of the thirty-two trades carried on, the most successful were those of coopers, tanners, shoemakers, and shipbuilders. "Many fair ships and lesser vessels, barques, and ketches were built." Thus the chronicler anticipates the growth of Boston, which, "of a poor country village, is become like unto a small city; its buildings beautiful and large—some fairly set out with brick, tile, stone, and slate, orderly placed, with comely streets, whose continual enlargements presageth some sumptuous city." They had their soldiers, too, and a "very gallant horse-troop," each one of which had by him "powder, bullets, and match." Their enemies were graciously warned that these soldiers "were all experienced in the deliverances of the Lord from the mouth of the lion and the paw of the bear." 1655.

[1] Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England,"—as quoted by Hildreth.

CHAPTER XII.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Slavery.—Massacre by the Indians.—Lord Baltimore.—The Settlement of Maryland.—Clayborne's Rebellion.—The Colony prosperous.—Toleration.—Berkeley governor of Virginia; Trade crippled; Intolerance.—Indian War.—State of Society.—Aristocratic Assembly.—Complaints of Berkeley.—War with the Susquehannahs.—Nathaniel Bacon.—Disturbances.—Obnoxious Assembly dissolved.—Evils corrected.—Bacon goes against the Indians.—Insincerity of Berkeley.—Jamestown captured and burned.—Death of Bacon.—Tyranny of Berkeley.—Aristocratic Assembly; its illiberal Acts.—Culpepper governor.—A Series of extortions.—Deplorable state of the Colony.—Difficulties in Maryland.

CHAP. XII.

1619. In August of this year slavery was introduced into the colonies. A Dutch ship entered James river, having on board twenty negroes for sale as slaves. Although the Dutch continued occasionally to bring Africans to the Virginia market, the number of slaves increased but slowly for a third of a century. The trade was discouraged, but not absolutely forbidden.

The Indians were scattered throughout the country, in little villages, along the streams and in the most fertile districts. The planters, who wanted these places for their tobacco, took possession of them. Powhatan, the friend

1618. of the English, was dead; his brother and successor, Opechancanough, though professing friendship, was their enemy: his proud spirit burned within him at the wrongs of his people. Not daring to meet the English in open conflict, he planned secretly a terrible revenge; even their entire extermination. At this time the number of colo-

nists was about four thousand; that of the Indians within sixty or a hundred miles of Jamestown, about five thousand. At noon on a certain day, the Indians were to fall upon every settlement, and murder all the whites. Meanwhile, Opechancanough was warmer than ever in his professions; "sooner would the skies fall," said he, "than that my friendship for the English should cease." On the morning of the intended massacre, the Indians were in the houses and at the tables of the planters, and manifested more than their usual good will. On that morning, a converted Indian, named Chauco, brought the news of the plot to Jamestown. He had learned of it only the night before. Messengers were sent in every direction to warn the people, but it was too late to reach the distant settlements. Throughout the extent of one hundred and forty miles, the merciless savages attacked the settlers at the same moment; and on the twenty-second of March, there perished within one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons, men, women, and children. Some of the settlements, though taken by surprise, repulsed their assailants, yet the effect was terrible. Of eighty plantations, all but eight were laid waste, and the people hastened for safety to Jamestown. Desolation reigned over the whole colony; death had entered almost every family, and now famine and sickness prevailed. Within three months the four thousand colonists were reduced to twenty-five hundred; the decrease continued, and at the end of two years not more than two thousand remained of the nine thousand who had emigrated to Virginia. Their misfortunes excited much feeling in England. Assistance was sent; the city of London did much to relieve their pressing wants, and private individuals were not backward in sending aid. Even King James's sympathies were enlisted; he had never aided the colonists, but he now gave them some old muskets that had been thrown aside as useless.

CHAP. XII. 1622. Mar.

The planters did not fear the Indians in open con-

CHAP. XII.

1622. flict; but it was necessary to guard against their secret attacks. In their turn, they formed plans to exterminate the savages, or drive them far back into the wilderness. Expeditions for this purpose were sent against them from time to time, during the space of ten years. In time, industry began to revive, and signs of prosperity once more were seen.

The London Company was now bankrupt; endless discussions arose among the numerous stockholders. They became divided into two political parties,—one favored the king's prerogative; the other, the liberty of the colonists. These questions were freely discussed at the meetings of the company, greatly to the annoyance of James. When he found it impossible to prevent the stockholders from expressing their opinions, he arbitrarily took away the charter of the company. To console the colonists, he announced that he had taken them under his own special protection. He began to frame laws for their government—laws no doubt in accordance with his peculiar notions of kingcraft; but his labors and life were

1625. suddenly ended.

Charles I., his son and successor, appeared to favor the colony: it conformed to the church of England, and he did not suspect its politics. More than this, he wished to ingratiate himself with the colonists, for he desired the monopoly of their tobacco trade. He even went so far as to recognize the House of Burgesses as a legislative body, and requested them to pass a law by which he alone could purchase the tobacco of the colony. The House, in a dignified and respectful manner, refused to comply with the

1629. royal request, as it would be injurious to their trade. After the death of the liberal and high-minded Yeardley, the council elected Francis West governor. Charles, piqued at this independence, as well as the refusal to grant him the monopoly, appointed Sir John Harvey. Harvey had been a member of the colonial council, where he was the willing instrument of a faction that had almost

ruined the prospects of the colony. The enemy of the rights of the people, he was exceedingly unpopular; he now took special care of his own interests and those of his friends, by appointing them alone to office. CHAP. XII. 1633.

The histories of Virginia and Maryland are intimately connected. As has been mentioned, Captain Smith was the first to explore the Chesapeake; the trade with the Indians along its shores had now become profitable. Though the Potomac river was the northern boundary of Virginia, the colonists had extended their trade and influence with the Indians on both sides, up to the head of the bay. William Clayborne, a bold and restless spirit, a surveyor of land by profession, was employed by the Governor of Virginia to explore the sources of the Chesapeake. A company was formed in England for the purpose of trading with the Indians, who lived on both sides of the bay. Clayborne, the agent of the company, obtained a license to trade, and established two stations, one on Kent Island, opposite Annapolis, and one at the mouth of the Susquehannah.

During the turmoil of religious parties and persecutions in England, Sir George Calvert, afterward Lord Baltimore, left the Protestant church, resigned his office of Secretary of State, and professed himself a Roman Catholic. This did not affect his standing with James or his son Charles. Calvert manifested a strong interest in the cause of colonization. He wished to found a colony to which Catholics might flee to avoid persecution. He first obtained permission to found a settlement on the cold and barren shores of Newfoundland; that enterprise was soon abandoned. He turned to Virginia, a clime more genial; there he was met by the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, to which, as a good Catholic, Lord Baltimore could not subscribe; Virginia could never be a peaceful asylum for those of his faith. The region north of it attracted his 1622.

CHAP. XII. 1632. attention, and he applied to King Charles for a portion of that territory.

Charles gave him a grant of land, most of which is now included in the State of Maryland; it was named after Henrietta Maria, the wife of the king. As a proprietary Lord Baltimore deserves all praise for his liberality. The colonists were to have a voice in making their own laws; they were not to be taxed without their own consent. He was bold to repudiate intolerance, and politic to adopt a form of government which alone could insure success. He designed his colony to be an asylum for the Catholic, but the Protestant was invited to share it. Just as the charter was about to be issued he died. To his son Cecil, under the same title, the charter was continued; to him belongs the honor of carrying into effect the intentions of his father.

Feb., 1632. He deputed his brother, Leonard, to take charge of the emigrants, who, to the number of two hundred, after a protracted voyage, arrived safely in the Chesapeake. A tribe of Indians residing on the St. Mary's, a branch of the Potomac, were about to remove on account of their enemies the Susquehannahs; they sold to the infant colony their cultivated land and their tillage. The Indian women taught the strangers' wives to make bread of maize; and soon the emigrants had corn-fields and gardens, and obtained abundance of game in the forest. A few days after their arrival, Governor Harvey, of Virginia, paid them a friendly visit; it was the desire of Charles that they should be welcomed by the sister colony. Friendly relations were established with the neighboring Indians; the colonists for a time obtained their necessary provisions from Virginia, but as they were industrious, the fruitful earth soon repaid their labor. At the commencement of the second year, the freemen of the colony held their first legislative Assembly.

Clayborne was the evil genius of Maryland. His license

to trade with the Indians was made void by Lord Baltimore's charter. He attempted to excite a rebellion, but was overpowered and compelled to flee to Virginia. The Governor of Maryland demanded him as a fugitive from justice; to evade the demand Harvey sent him to England to be tried. This offended the people of Virginia, who sympathized with Clayborne; to avenge him, they impeached Harvey himself, "and thrust him out of his government." The Assembly appointed commissioners to prosecute the charges against him in England. The commissioners met with no favor from the king; and soon, under a new appointment, the unpopular Harvey came back as governor.

CHAP. XII. 1635. April, 1639.

Meanwhile peace and plenty continued to be the lot of Maryland. Every year the rights of the people were better understood; they acknowledged their allegiance to England, and respected the rights of Lord Baltimore. Their lands produced an abundance of tobacco, and commerce began to prosper. Efforts were now made to convert some of the neighboring Indians to Christianity. The priests established four stations among them, and not without effect. One chief, Tayac, with his wife, was baptized, he taking the name of Charles and she that of Mary. Soon after one hundred and thirty other converts received baptism, some of whom sent their children to receive a Christian education under the care of the priests. But, alas! these efforts were as vain as the other attempts of the times to Christianize the poor natives. The same evil causes were here at work—wars and the influence of bad men. It is said these grateful tribes ever after remained friendly to those who endeavored to instruct them.

The persevering Clayborne returned, to mar their peace by another and more successful insurrection. The Governor of Maryland was now, in his turn, compelled to flee to Virginia. After two years of misrule, peace was again restored, and all the offenders were pardoned.

1645.

CHAP. XII.

1649. As an interesting fact, it may be mentioned, that in this year Maryland passed a law of perfect toleration to all *Christian* sects; two years previous Rhode Island had granted toleration to all opinions, *Infidel* as well as *Christian*.

During the rule of Cromwell the government of Maryland was very unsettled. The Assembly, finally, repudiated both Cromwell and Baltimore, and proclaimed the authority of the people as supreme. Scarcely was this accomplished when the restoration of Charles II. took place.

1660. Lord Baltimore made known to the king that his professions of republicanism were made only to obtain the favor of Cromwell, and that really he was a good royalist. Charles immediately restored him his proprietary rights. Baltimore was not vindictive; he proclaimed a general pardon, and for almost thirty years the colony enjoyed repose.

Sir William Berkeley, as successor to Harvey, was ap-

1642. pointed Governor of Virginia. The trade of the colony was crippled by severe restrictions; as England claimed its trade for herself alone. Thus began a series of acts and infringements on commerce by the home government, which annoyed the people of the colonies, and interfered with their industry and commercial prosperity for more than one hundred and thirty years, when these

1776. grievances were swept away by the Revolution. The colony was now permitted for a time to take care of itself, Charles I. being engaged in a contest with his subjects at home. The Virginians were stanch friends of the king, and the party in the mother country contending against him met with no favor from them. The Puritans who were living in Virginia, being identified with republicanism, were looked upon with suspicion; those of their number who would not conform to the ceremonies of the Church of England were banished. A majority of these passed over into Maryland. Thus it was, the Puritan would not permit the Episcopalian to come to New Eng-

land, and the Episcopalian banished the Puritan from Virginia. CHAP. XII. 1644.

No peace was granted to the Indians. After a space of twenty-two years, they once more made an effort to free themselves from their enemies. The frontier settlements were suddenly attacked, and about three hundred persons killed. When resisted, the savages fled to the wilderness. They were pursued with great vigor, and after a contest of two years their power was completely broken. Opechancanough, their aged chief, was taken captive, and soon after died in prison; his proud spirit deeply wounded that he should be gazed at by his enemies. The next year a treaty was made, by which they relinquished forever the fertile valleys of their fathers, and with sorrowful hearts retired far into the wilderness.

After the execution of Charles I., great numbers of the royalists, "good cavalier families," fled to Virginia, where they were welcomed as exiled patriots. She was the last of the colonies to acknowledge the authority of the Commonwealth. But when commissioners were sent, who granted the people all the civil rights and privileges they asked, they submitted.

After the death of Cromwell, and before it was known who was to rule in England, the House of Burgesses resolved, "that the supreme power will be resident in the Assembly." Then Berkeley was elected governor. In accepting office, he acknowledged the authority of the people's representatives, saying, "I am but the servant of the Assembly." We shall see how sincere was that declaration.

When Charles II. was in exile, he was invited to come and be "king of Virginia;" from this incident, it has been called "The Old Dominion." This loyalty Charles after his restoration repaid, by basely taking away their privileges, and distributing their lands among his favorites.

The society of Virginia was peculiar. The first settle-

CHAP. XII. 1660. ments were made under the protection of the nobility; this favored the growth of an aristocratic class of landholders. There were two other classes—the negro, who was a slave for life, and the indented white man, sent from the mother country to serve a certain number of years. These white servants were sometimes criminals but oftener political offenders. The latter, when their term of servitude expired, mingled with the people on an equality.

The Assembly held their sessions once in two years, their members were chosen by the people, and only for one session. The first Assembly held after the Restoration, was composed of landholders. Berkeley now declared himself governor, not because he was elected by the people, but because Charles when in exile had appointed him.

1662. The Assembly went still further, and deprived the people of the privilege of choosing their own legislators, by assuming to themselves the right to be perpetual. This Assembly remained thus in violation of law for fourteen

1676. years. During this usurpation, all that the people had gained of civil rights for more than a third of a century, this aristocratic House of Burgesses swept away. The only right allowed them was that of petitioning their rulers for redress of grievances—but these petitions were disregarded. The Church of England was declared to be the religion of the State, and all were bound by law under penalties of fines and banishment, not only to attend its services, but to pay a tax to support it. Governor Berkeley complained of its ministers: "as of all other commodities, so of this—the worst are sent us, and we have few that we can boast of, since the persecutions in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither." The cause of education was neglected, and almost prohibited. The poor were peculiarly unfortunate—"out of towns," says a chronicler of the times, "every man instructs his children as best he can:" —no aid was afforded them by those in authority. Says the aristocratic Berkeley: "I thank God

there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we will not have them these hundred years!" Such was the language of a man who was Governor of Virginia for nearly forty years. The printing-press was established in Massachusetts ninety years before there was one in Virginia. CHAP. XII. 1639. 1729.

The people of Maryland became involved in war with the Indians. A company of Virginians, under John Washington, great-grandfather of George Washington, crossed over the Potomac to aid them. Six chiefs of the Susquehannahs came to treat for peace, but the Virginians treacherously murdered the whole company. For this evil deed the innocent were made to suffer. The Susquehannahs immediately passed over into Virginia to revenge their death, by killing ten persons for each chief. According to their belief, until this sacrifice was made, the souls of their chiefs could not be at rest in the spirit land. The people cried to the governor for protection, which he was slow to give; they attributed his tardiness to his interest in the fur-trade. They now asked permission to defend themselves; to invade the enemies' country, and drive them from their hiding-places; this was also refused. During this delay, the Indians pursued their murderous work all along the frontiers. 1675.

There was in the colony a young planter, not more than thirty years of age, a native of England; a lawyer by profession; eloquent and winning in his manners; bold and determined in spirit; a true patriot; disliked by the governor, because he was a republican; but dear to the people for the same reason: such was Nathaniel Bacon. To him, in their extremity, they turned. Those who had volunteered to go against the Indians, asked of the governor a commission for Bacon to command them. Berkeley obstinately refused to grant it. He would not countenance such presumption on the part of the "common people." The murders continued; the volunteers waited no longer on the tardy government, but set out under the

CHAP. XII. 1676. April.

command of Bacon to repel the savages. The moment they were gone, Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a traitor, and his soldiers rebels, and gave orders for them to disperse.

The populous counties on the Bay began to show signs of insurrection. Their quarrel was not with the Indians, but with the acts and continued exsitence of the House of Burgesses. Bacon, meanwhile, had returned successful from his expedition. The haughty old governor was forced to yield; the obnoxious Assembly was dissolved, and writs issued for the election of members for another, to which Bacon was returned triumphantly from Henrico county. This Assembly corrected the evils of the long one. The unjust taxes on the poor were removed; the privileges of voting for their legislators was restored to the people, and many abuses in relation to the expenditure of the public money rectified. The House elected Bacon commander of the army. These measures were very distasteful to Berkeley and his advisers—he would not give them his sanction. Finally, however, he yielded to necessity; and even went so far as to transmit to England, his own and the council's commendations of Bacon's loyalty and patriotism.

The Indians still continued their attacks upon the settlements, and Bacon with a small force went to punish them: again the insincere Berkeley proclaimed him a traitor. Such treachery excited his indignation and that of the army. No confidence could be placed in the governor's word. "It vexes me to the heart," said the gallant patriot, "that while I am hunting the wolves which destroy our lambs, that I should myself be pursued like a savage—the whole country is witness to our peaceable behavior; but those in authority, how have they obtained their estates? Have they not devoured the common treasury? What schools of learning have they promoted?" Such were the questions asked, and such were the sentiments that stirred the hearts of the people. They must

have their rights restored: wives urged their husbands to contend for their liberties.

Berkeley with a few royalist followers and advisers, went to the eastern shore of the bay. There by promises of plunder, he collected a rabble of sailors belonging to some English vessels, and a company of vagabond Indians. When the rumor of the governor's intentions spread throughout the land, the people with one accord met in convention at the Middle Plantation, now Williamsburg, where they deliberated all day, even until midnight. They decided it was their duty to defend themselves from the tyranny of the governor. They adjourned, however, and went to their homes, determined to be guided in their conduct by the course he should pursue. They were not long in suspense, for Berkeley crossed over with five ships to Jamestown, to put down what he was pleased to call a rebellion. In a very short time the little army so successful against the Indians, was gathered once more under the same leader. The conflict was short; Berkeley's cowardly rabble broke and fled; deserting Jamestown, they went on board their ships and dropped down the river. The victors entered the deserted town. A council was held as to what was to be done. Should they leave it as a place of defence for their enemies? It was deemed necessary to burn it. Drummond and Lawrence, men prominent in the popular movement, applied the torch to their own dwellings; the example was followed by others, and, in a few hours, the first town founded by Englishmen on this continent was in ruins. A crumbling church-tower is all that now remains to mark the site of old Jamestown.

Sept

The good results of this struggle were doomed to be lost. Bacon suddenly fell ill of a violent fever, which terminated his life in a few days. He was called a traitor and a rebel by Berkeley and his royalist party, as was Washington by the same party one hundred years afterward.

Oct.

CHAP. XII.

1676. The people were now without a leader—without any one to plead their cause. Berkeley played the tyrant, ravaged the country and confiscated the property of the patriots. He caused to perish on the scaffold more than twenty of the best men of Virginia. One or two incidents may serve to exhibit his spirit. When Drummond (who is represented as a "sober, Scotch gentleman, of good repute") was brought into his presence, "You are very welcome," said he, bowing at the same time, with mock civility; "I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall be hanged in half an hour!" He derided, in vulgar terms, a young wife who came to plead for her husband, to take the blame of his offence upon herself, and to offer her own life for his.

If any one dared speak disrespectfully of Berkeley or his rule, he was publicly whipped. The end came at last; Berkeley left the country, and the people celebrated his departure with bonfires and rejoicings. When he arrived in England he found that public opinion severely condemned his conduct; and, what was more wounding to his pride, even Charles, to serve whom he had stained his soul with innocent blood, exclaimed, "That old fool has taken away more lives in that naked land than I for the death of my father!" The names and characters of Bacon and his adherents were vilified, and for a century these slanders were not disproved; the truth was not permitted to be published. The facts, as now known, prove that the men who thus opposed the tyranny of Berkeley were not rebels and traitors, but worthy to be numbered among the patriots of the land.

1677. The first Assembly held after this unsuccessful struggle was devoted to the interests of the aristocracy. All the liberal laws passed by the preceding one were repealed; henceforth only freeholders could vote for members of the House of Burgesses. The poor man was as

heavily taxed as the rich, but unless he was a landholder he had no vote. CHAP. XII.

The profligate Charles gave Virginia to two of his favorites—Arlington and Culpepper; the latter soon after purchased the claim of the former. The king appointed Culpepper governor for life. He came authorized to heal differences between the people and the government, but he used the power for his own interest alone; he valued Virginia only in proportion to the money his rapacity could extort; even the soldiers, sent to maintain his authority, he defrauded of their wages. When he had secured to himself the highest possible revenue, he sailed for England. The condition of the Virginians was wretched in the extreme; the rewards of their industry went to their rapacious rulers, and they, goaded to desperation, were on the point of rebellion. 1678. 1680.

Rumors of these discontents reached England, and the truant governor reluctantly left his pleasures to visit his domain. Having the authority of the king, Culpepper caused several men of influence to be hanged as traitors. The people who owned farms in the territory, given him by royal grant, he now compelled to lose their estates, or compromise by paying money. Charles had now another favorite to provide for; Culpepper was removed, and Effingham appointed. This change was even for the worse; Effingham was more needy and more avaricious. 1682. 1684.

On the accession of James II. what is known in history as Monmouth's Rebellion occurred. After its suppression, multitudes of those implicated in it were sent to Virginia and Maryland to be sold as servants for a term of ten years. Many of these were men of education and of good families. The House of Burgesses, to their honor be it said, declared these poor men free, though the cruel James had forbidden the exercise of such lenity. 1685.

So little were the claims of humanity respected at this time in the West of England, that it was a common occur-

CHAP. XII.

rence to kidnap persons of the poorer sort, and send them to the colonies to be sold as servants for a term of years.

1685. These were principally brought to Virginia and Maryland, as there the planters required many laborers. The trade was profitable, more so than the African slave trade.

1688. After the accession of William and Mary an effort was made to establish a college in Virginia, "to educate a domestic succession of Church of England ministers," as well as to teach the children of the Indians. The celebrated Robert Boyle made a large donation, and the king gave, in addition to three other grants, outstanding quit-rents, valued at about £2,000. Such was the foundation of the

1691. college of William and Mary.

The Rev. James Blair, said to be the first commissary sent to the colonies by the Bishop of London, "to supply the office and jurisdiction of the bishop in the out-places of the diocese," was its president for fifty years.

Though William was thus moderately liberal, he was by no means the representative of the true feeling of his ministry; they even looked upon this pittance as uncalled for. Blair, the pious and energetic Scotchman, once urged upon Seymour, the attorney-general, the importance of establishing schools to educate ministers of the gospel. "Consider, sir," said he, "that the people of Virginia have souls to save." He was answered by a profane imprecation upon their souls, and told to "make tobacco." This pithy rebuff indicated the spirit and general policy of the home government; it valued the colonies only as a source of wealth.

For many years voluntary emigration to Virginia almost ceased. There were no inducements, no encouragements to industry, all commerce was restricted. The planters were at the mercy of the English trader; he alone was permitted to buy their tobacco and to sell them merchandise. The whole province was given over to the

tender mercies of royal favorites and extortioners, while the printing-press, that dread of tyrants, was still forbidden. How dearly did loyal Virginia pay for the honor of being named the "Old Dominion!" 1685.

The struggles of the people of Virginia under Bacon and others, had an effect on the people of Maryland. At the death of Lord Baltimore, his son and heir assumed 1675. the government, and ruled with justice till another revolution in England brought a change. The deputy- 1688. governor hesitated to acknowledge William and Mary. This was seized upon by some restless spirits to excite discontent in the minds of the people. Among other absurd stories, it was said that the Catholics, who were few in number, were about to invite the Indians to aid them in massacring the Protestants. At this time the Jesuits had excited the Indians of New England and Canada against the New England colonies. This gave a shadow of probability to the charge. Under the lead of some persons, who professed to be very zealous Protestants, the deputy-governor was seized, and a convention called, which deposed Lord Baltimore, and proclaimed the people the true sovereign. Two years after, King William, taking them 1691. at their word, unjustly deprived Lord Baltimore of his property, and made the colony a royal province. The people now suffered the penalty for ill treating their benevolent proprietary. The king placed over them a royal governor; changed their laws for the worse; established the Church of England, and taxed them to maintain it; did not promote education, but prohibited printing; discouraged their domestic manufactures; and finally disfranchised the Catholics, who had laid the foundation of the colony sixty years before. The rights of Lord Baltimore were afterward restored to his infant child, and the original form of government was established. No colony 1716. experienced so many vicissitudes as Maryland.

CHAPTER XIII.

COLONIZATION OF NEW YORK.

Hudson's Discoveries.—Indian Traffic.—Fort on the Isle of Manhattan.—Walloons the first Settlers.—Peter Minuits.—The Patroons.—Van Twiller Governor; his Misrule.—Succeeded by Kieft.—Difficulties with the Indians.—They seek Protection; their Massacre.—Peace concluded.—Stuyvesant Governor.—The Swedish Settlement on the Delaware.—Pavonia.—Threatening Rumors.—New Netherland surrendered to England.—New Jersey sold by the Duke of York.—The Influence of the Dutch.

CHAP. XIII.

1609.

WHEN there were high hopes of discovering a north-west passage to India, Henry Hudson was sent in search of it by a company of London merchants. He was unsuccessful; yet his enthusiasm was not diminished by his failure. He requested to be again sent on the same errand, but the merchants were unwilling to incur further expense. He then applied to the Dutch East India Company; the directors of which, at Amsterdam, furnished him with a ship, the Half-Moon, with liberty to exercise his own judgment in the prosecution of the enterprise. He first sailed to the north-east, away beyond the Capes of Norway, as far as the ice would permit. He saw that an effort in that direction would be fruitless. He turned to the west, crossed the Atlantic, and coasted along the continent till he found himself opposite the Capes of Virginia; then turning to the north he entered a "great bay with rivers," since known as the Delaware; still further north he passed through a narrow channel, and found himself in a beautiful bay. Here he remained some days.

The natives, "clothed in mantles of feathers and robes of fur," visited his ship. Their astonishment was great; they thought it was the canoe of the Great Spirit, and the white faces, so unlike themselves, were his servants. Hudson explored the bay, and noticed a large stream flowing from the north; this, thought he, leads to the Eastern Seas. That stream, called by some of the native tribes the Cahohatatea, or River of Mountains, and by others the Shatemuc, he explored for one hundred and fifty miles; it did not lead to the Eastern Seas, yet that river has immortalized the name of Henry Hudson.

What a change has come over the "River of Mountains" since he threaded his way up its stream two hundred and eighty years ago! It has become the highway to the great inland seas of a continent, upon whose bosoms float the fruits of the industry of millions; and the island at its mouth the heart of a nation's commerce, whose every throb is felt throughout that nation's length and breadth. From the highest church steeple,[1] on this Isle of Manhattan, the eye takes in a horizon containing a population very much greater than that of the thirteen colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence. There are other changes which the philanthropist loves to contemplate. Here are seen the humanizing influences of Christianity, of civilization, of intelligence, and of industry, embodied in institutions of learning, of science, and of benevolence, that pour forth their charities and blessings, not alone for this land but for others.

The coincidence is striking, that, nearly at the same time, the representatives of three nations were penetrating the wilderness and approaching each other. Champlain, on behalf of France, was exploring the northern part of New York; John Smith, one of the pioneers of

[1] Trinity.

CHAP. XIII. 1610. English colonization, was pushing his discoveries up to the head waters of the Chesapeake, while the Half-Moon was slowly sounding her way up the Hudson.

Hudson arrived safely in England, but he was not permitted by the government to continue in the service of the Dutch, lest they should derive advantage in trade from his discoveries. However, he found means to transmit to his employers at Amsterdam, an account of his voyage. Once more he sailed under the patronage of some English merchants. He passed through the straits into the bay known by his name; groped among a multitude of islands till late in the season, and then determined to winter there, and in the spring continue his search for the wished-for passage. When spring came his provisions were nearly exhausted; it was impossible to prosecute his design. With tears of disappointment he gave orders to turn the prow of his vessel homeward. A day or two afterward his crew mutinied. They seized him, put him, with his son and seven seamen, four of whom were ill, on board the shallop, and inhumanly left them to perish. "The gloomy waste of waters which bears his name, is his tomb and his monument."

Hudson, in his communication to his employers, described the extensive region he had discovered as well watered by rivers, and as lying around bays and inlets; as covered with forests abounding in the finest timber for ship-building; and as "a land as beautiful as ever man trod upon." The numerous tribes of Indians who met him in friendship, and the multitudes of beaver and otter, gave indication also of a profitable trade.

The next year a ship was sent to trade; the traffic was profitable, and was still further prosecuted. In a few years there were forts or trading houses on the river, as far up as Fort Orange, since Albany. A rude fort at the 1614. lower end of Manhattan island was the germ of the present city of NEW YORK. The Dutch during this time

were busy exploring the waters from the Delaware to Cape Cod. They were as yet but a company of traders; no emigrants had left Holland with the intention of making a permanent settlement. 1614.

A company was formed, under the title of the Dutch West India Company; an association for the purpose of trade only. They took possession of the territory as temporary occupants; if they grew rich they were indifferent as to other matters; they had no promise of protection from Holland, and as a matter of policy they were peaceful. The States-General granted them the monopoly of trade from Cape May to Nova Scotia, and named the entire territory New Netherland. The claims of the English, French, and Dutch thus overlapped each other, and led to "territorial disputes, national rivalries, religious antipathies, and all the petty hatreds and jealousies of trade." 1621.

About thirty families, Walloons or French Protestants, who had fled to Holland to avoid persecution, were the first to emigrate with the intention of remaining. Some of these settled in the vicinity of what is now the Navy Yard in Brooklyn, others went up the river to Fort Orange. 1625.

The central position of the island of Manhattan obtained for it the honor of being chosen as the residence of the agent for the company. Peter Minuits was appointed such, under the title of governor, and the few cottages at the south end of the island were dignified with the name of New Amsterdam. The island itself belonged exclusively to the company, and was purchased from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars. Effort was now made to found a State. Every person who should emigrate had the privilege of owning as much as he could properly cultivate, provided it was not on lands especially claimed by the company. To encourage emigration, it was ordered that any member of the company who in four years should

CHAP. XIII.

1625. induce fifty persons to settle anywhere in New Netherland, except on the island of Manhattan, should be recognised as "Patroon," or "Lord of the Manor." Under this arrangement "Patroons" could purchase a tract of land sixteen miles long by eight in width. They secured to themselves, by purchase from the Indians, the most valuable lands and places for trade. The less rich were by necessity compelled to become tenants of the Patroons. The people, thus deprived of that independence which is essential to the progress of any community, took but little interest in cultivating the soil, or in improving the country.

The company, for the sake of gain, determined, even at the expense of the prosperity of the colonists, to make New Amsterdam the centre of the trade of New Netherland. Under the penalty of banishment the people were forbidden to manufacture the most common fabrics for clothing. No provision was made for the education of the young, or the preaching of the gospel; although it was enjoined upon the Patroons to provide "a minister and a schoolmaster," or at least a "comforter of the sick," whose duty it should be to read to the people texts of Scripture and the creeds. The company also agreed, if the speculation should prove profitable, to furnish the Patroons with African slaves.

As Hudson had discovered Delaware bay and river, the Dutch claimed the territory. Samuel Godyn purchased from the Indians all their lands from Cape Henlo-

1629. pen to the mouth of the Delaware river. Two years after this thirty colonists arrived, fully prepared to found a settlement. When De Vries, who was to be Patroon and commander, came the next year, he found not a vestige of the settlement; all had perished by the hands of the savages.

After the resignation of Minuits, Walter Van Twiller, through the "influence of kinsmen and friends," was ap-

pointed governor. He proved himself unfitted for the station. As a clerk, he was acquainted with the mere routine of business, but ignorant of human nature; as conceited as he was deficient in judgment and prudence, he failed to secure the respect of those he governed. In his zeal for the interests of his employers, he neglected the rights of the people, and was so inconsistent in the management of public affairs that Dominie Bogardus sent him a letter of severe reproof, threatening to give him "such a shake from the pulpit on the following Sunday as would make him shudder." CHAP. XIII. 1633. 1638.

The inefficient Van Twiller was succeeded by William Kieft. Though he had not the same defects as Van Twiller, his appointment was a most unfortunate event for the colony. A bankrupt in Holland, his portrait was affixed to the gallows; an evidence of the estimation in which his character was held. Avaricious and unscrupulous, so arbitrary in his measures that during his rule the colony was in a continual turmoil, he quarrelled with the Swedes on the Delaware, had difficulties with the English in New England, made the Indians his enemies, and had scarcely a friend in his own colony.

The Dutch were on friendly terms with the Indians during the rule of Van Twiller. It was forbidden by law to sell them fire-arms; but the traders up the river, indifferent to the interests of the settlers, sold them guns to such an extent, that at one time more than four hundred of the Mohawks, or Iroquois, were armed with muskets. By this means these terrible marauders and despots of the wilderness were rendered more haughty and dangerous. They paid enormous prices for guns, that they might be able to meet their enemies the Canadian Indians, who were supplied with fire-arms by the French. Though the traders did not sell guns to the tribes living near New Amsterdam and on the river, yet they sold them rum.

Kieft pretended that the company had ordered him to

CHAP. XIII.

levy an annual tribute upon the river Indians—the Mo-
1638. hegans and other clans of the Algonquin race. They refused to pay any tribute, saying he "was a shabby fellow to come and live on their lands without being invited, and then want to take away their corn for nothing." Such injustice, with the partiality shown to their enemies, the Mohawks, gradually alienated their feelings of friendship for the Dutch.

An act of Kieft awoke the slumbering anger of the savages. The Raritans, a tribe living on the river which bears their name, were accused of stealing hogs, which had been taken by some Dutch traders. Kieft did not inquire into the truth of the charge, but sent soldiers to punish them, who destroyed their corn and killed some of their number. De Vries, who, in the mean time, had planted a settlement on Staten Island, was himself a friend of the Indians. The Raritans attacked this settle-
1641. ment and killed four men. The people now urged the governor to conciliate the savages, but without effect. Twenty years before a chieftain had been killed by a Dutch hunter in the presence of his nephew, then a little boy; that boy, now a man, according to their custom, avenged the death of his uncle by murdering an innocent Dutchman. Kieft demanded that the young man should be given up to him, to be punished as a murderer. The tribe would not comply with the demand, but offered to pay the price of blood. The violent governor refused any such compromise.

1642. With his permission a meeting of the heads of families was called. They chose twelve of their number to investigate the affairs of the colony. They passed very soon from the Indian difficulties to other abuses; even to the despotic actions of the governor himself. As the "twelve men" refused to be controlled by Kieft, but persevered in expressing their opinions of his conduct, he

dissolved the Assembly. Thus ended the first representative Assembly in New Netherland. CHAP. XIII. 1642.

Nearly all the difficulties with the Indians may be traced to some injustice practised upon them by the whites. An instance of this kind now occurred which led to direful results. A Dutchman sold a young Indian, the son of a chief, brandy, and when he was intoxicated, cheated and drove him away. The Indian, raging with drink, and maddened by the treatment he had received. went to his home, obtained his bow and arrows, returned and shot the Dutchman dead. The chiefs of the murderer's tribe hastened to the governor to explain the matter, and to pay the price of blood; they wished for peace; but the governor was inexorable. He demanded the murderer; but he had fled to a neighboring tribe. "It is your own fault!" exclaimed the indignant chiefs; "why do you sell brandy to our young men? it makes them crazy; —your own people get drunk, and fight with knives."

Just at this time came a company of eighty Mohawks, all armed with muskets, to demand tribute of the enfeebled River Tribes. The latter fled to the Dutch for protection. Now is the time, urged the people, to obtain forever the friendship of the Indians living around us, by rescuing them from the rapacious Mohawks. Now is the time, thought the stubborn and cruel Kieft, to exterminate those who have fled to me for safety.

"If you murder these poor creatures who have put themselves under your protection, you will involve the whole colony in ruin, and their blood, and the blood of your own people, will be required at your hands!" urged the kind-hearted De Vries. The admonition was unheeded.

The unsuspecting victims of this scheme of treachery and barbarous cruelty were with the tribe of Hackensacks, just beyond Hoboken. About the hour of midnight the soldiers from the fort, and some freebooters Feb., 1643.

CHAP. XIII. 1643.

from the ships in the harbor, passed over the river. Soon were heard the shrieks of the dying Indians;—the carnage continued, the poor victims ran to the river, to pass over to their supposed friends in New Amsterdam. But they were driven into the water; the mother, who rushed to save her drowning child, was pushed in, that both might perish in the freezing flood. These were not the only victims. Another company of Indians, trusting to the Dutch for protection, were encamped on the island, but a short distance from the fort. They were nearly all murdered in the same manner. In the morning the returning soldiers received the congratulations of Kieft. When the people learned of the massacre they were filled with horror at its atrocity, and expressed their detestation of its author, and their fears that all the Indians in their neighborhood would become their deadly enemies. The guilty Kieft cowered before the storm; it would have been well if the only effects of his acts had been the reproaches of the people.

When it became known that it was not their enemies the Mohawks, but their pretended friends the Dutch, who had wantonly killed their countrymen, the rage of the River Tribes knew no bounds. They rose as one man to take revenge. Every nook and corner, every swamp and thicket, became an ambush for the enraged savages. The settlements up the river were destroyed. On Long Island, on Staten Island, the retribution fell; all around Manhattan the smoke of burning dwellings arose to heaven. The people at a distance from the fort were either murdered or taken captive, especially the women and children. All who could deserted their homes, and sought safety in the fort at Manhattan; many of whom afterward left for Holland.

A pleasing incident is related of Indian gratitude. De Vries had, on that fearful night, rescued an Indian and his wife from death. When his settlement on Staten

Island was attacked, this Indian hastened to his countrymen who were besieging the people in the block-house, and told them how he and his wife had been rescued. The besiegers immediately told the people they would molest them no more; and they kept their word. CHAP. XIII. 1643.

A temporary truce was made at Rockaway on Long Island. The chiefs of a number of tribes agreed to meet the messengers of the Dutch, and treat of peace. De Vries, whom the Indians knew to be their friend, went with two others to the interview. When the conference was opened one of the chiefs arose, having in his hand a number of little sticks; taking one, he commenced: "When you first came to our shores you wanted food; we gave you our beans and our corn, and now you murder our people." He took another stick: "The men whom your first ships left to trade, we guarded and fed; we gave them our daughters for wives; some of those whom you murdered were of your own blood." Many sticks still remained, but the envoys did not wish to hear a further recital of wrongs. They proposed that they should both forget the past, and now make peace forever. Peace was made. It was not satisfactory to the young warriors; they thought "the bloody men," as they now called the Dutch, had not paid the full price of the lives they had taken; and war broke forth again. Now the leader of the Dutch was Captain John Underhill, who had had experience in the Pequod war in New England. For two years the Indians were hunted from swamp to swamp, through winter and summer; yet they were not subdued. They lay in ambush round the settlements, and picked off the husbandmen from his labor, and carried into captivity his wife and children. There was no security from the midnight attack; scarcely any corn was planted; famine and utter ruin stared the colony in the face. Sept.

Sixteen hundred of the Indians had been killed, and the number of white people was so much reduced, that,

CHAP. XIII.

besides traders, there were not more than one hundred persons on the Isle of Manhattan. What a ruin had been

1643. wrought by the wicked perverseness of one man!

At length both parties became weary of war. The chieftains of the tribes around New Amsterdam, and, as mediators, a deputation from their ancient enemies the Mohawks, met the deputies of the Dutch beneath the open sky, on the place now known as the Battery, in New York city, and there concluded a peace.

1645. Thanksgivings burst forth from the people at the prospect of returning safety. There was no consolation for Kieft; he was justly charged by them with being the cause of all their misfortunes. The company censured him, and disclaimed his barbarous conduct. He was without a friend in the colony. After two years, with his ill-gotten gains, he sailed for his native land. The vessel was wrecked on the coast of Wales, and, with many others,

1646. he was lost.

In the midst of all these difficulties there were those who labored to instruct the poor heathen Indians of New Netherland. Several years before the missionary Eliot commenced his labors with the tribes near Boston, Megapolensis, the Dutch clergyman at Fort Orange, endeavored to teach the Mohawks the truths of the gospel. He strove to learn their language, that he might "speak and preach to them fluently," but without much success; their language was, as he expressed it, so "heavy." The grave warriors would listen respectfully when told to renounce certain sins, but they would immediately ask why white men committed the same. Efforts were made afterward to instruct in Christianity the tribes around Manhattan, but the good work was neutralized by other and evil influences.

The West India Company appointed Peter Stuyvesant to succeed Kieft as governor. He had been accustomed to military rule, and was exceedingly arbitrary in

his government; honest in his endeavors to fulfil his trust to the company, he also overlooked the rights of the people. He thought their duty was to pursue their business, and pay their taxes, and not trouble their brains about his manner of government. The colony was well-nigh ruined when Stuvyesant came into power; for nearly five years the dark cloud of war had been hanging over it. The Indians had been dealt with harshly and treacherously; policy as well as mercy demanded that they should be treated leniently. The company desired peace with the various tribes, for the success of trade depended upon their good-will. CHAP. XIII. 1646.

Although the Dutch claimed the territory from Cape Cod to the Capes of Virginia, they preferred to negotiate with New England, and desired that the wars between their mother countries in the Old World should not disturb the harmony of the New.

It must be confessed that the Connecticut people annoyed Stuyvesant exceedingly. The absurd stories told by the wily Mohegan chief, Uncas, of the Dutch conspiring with the Narragansets to cut off the English, found a too ready credence; so ready as to leave the impression that such stories were rather welcome than otherwise, provided they furnished an excuse for encroaching upon the territory of the Dutch. When accused of this conspiracy, said a sachem of the Narragansets, "I am poor, but no present can make me an enemy of the English!"

We have now to speak of others settling on territory claimed by the Dutch. Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, was induced to engage in sending a colony to the New World. He wished to found an asylum to which Protestants of Europe could flee. Peter Minuits, who has already been mentioned, as commercial agent at New Amsterdam, offered his services to lead the company of emigrants. The same year that Kieft came as a governor to New Amsterdam, Minuits landed on the shores of the

CHAP. XIII.

1638. Delaware with a company of emigrants, about fifty in number. They purchased from the Indians the territory on the west side of the bay and river from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton. This was very nearly the soil of the present State of Delaware. Nearly all this territory had been purchased some years before by the Dutch, who looked upon the Swedes as intruders. The latter built a fort and a church on the site of Wilmington, and named the country New Sweden. The Dutch protested, but the Swedes went quietly to work, and increased from year to year by accessions from their native land. For years the disputes between the two colonies continued; at length Stuyvesant, obeying the orders of the company, determined to make the Swedes submit to Dutch rule. The

1655. former, in surrendering, were to lose none of their rights as citizens. Thus, after an existence of seventeen years, the Swedish colony passed under the sway of the Dutch. Many of them became dissatisfied with the arbitrary acts of their rulers, and from time to time emigrated to Virginia and Maryland.

What is now New Jersey was also included in the territory claimed by the Dutch. They built a fort, a short distance below Camden, which they named Nassau.

1658. Michael Pauw bought of the Indians Staten Island, and all the land extending from Hoboken to the river Raritan. He named the territory Pavonia. Meanwhile the Swedes passed over to the east side of Delaware bay, and established trading-houses from Cape May to Burlington.

Manhattan in the mean while was gaining numbers by emigration. The stern Stuyvesant was sometimes intolerant, but the company wished the people to enjoy the rights of conscience. They wished New Amsterdam to be as liberal to the exile for religion's sake as was its namesake in the Old World. Every nation in Europe had here its representatives. It was remarked "that the inhabitants were of different sects and nations, and that

they spoke many different languages." The public documents were issued sometimes in Dutch, sometimes in English, and sometimes in French. Two centuries ago it was prophesied that here would be centred the commerce of the world. Time is realizing the prediction. To promote emigration the mechanic had his passage given him. The poor persecuted Waldenses came from their native valleys and mountains at the expense of the old city of Amsterdam. Africa, too, had her representatives. Her sons and daughters were brought as slaves at the charge of the West India Company; and the city of Amsterdam, in this case also, shared the expense and the profit.

The spirit or democracy began to pervade the minds of the Dutch; the credit of this has been given to the New Englanders, who were continually enlightening them on the subject of the freedom of Englishmen. This annoyed Stuyvesant beyond endurance. He often expressed his contempt for the "wavering multitude;" he despised the people, and scoffed at the idea that they could govern themselves: it was their duty to work, and not discuss the mysteries of government. They had no voice in the choice of their rulers, and were even forbidden to hold meetings to talk of their affairs. Stuyvesant finally consented to let them hold a convention of two delegates from each settlement; but as soon as these delegates began to discuss his conduct as governor, he dissolved the convention, bluntly telling them he derived his authority from the company, and not from "a few ignorant subjects." When a citizen, in a case in which he thought himself aggrieved, threatened to appeal to the States-General of Holland, "If you do," said the angry governor, "I will make you a foot shorter than you are." When the day of trial came, Stuyvesant found that by such despotic measures he had lost the good-will of the people of every class and nation.

Rumors were now rife that the English were about to

CHAP. XIII. 1664.

subdue New Netherland. The people for the most part were indifferent; they had now no civil rights, and to them the change might be for the better; it was not probable that it would be for the worse. The English portion longed for the rights of Englishmen. Though there had been war between England and Holland, the people of Virginia and New England, except perhaps those of Connecticut, were well-disposed toward the Dutch as neighbors.

Stuyvesant was soon relieved of his troubles with the people of Manhattan. Charles II., without regard to the rights of Holland, with whom he was at peace, or to the rights of the people of Connecticut under their charter, gave to his brother, the Duke of York, the entire country from the Connecticut to the Delaware. The first intimation Stuyvesant had of this intended robbery, was the presence of a fleet, under Richard Nicholls, sent to put in execution the orders of the English king. The fleet had brought to Boston the commissioners for New England, and there received recruits, and sailed for New Amsterdam. All was in confusion; Stuyvesant wished to make resistance, but the people were indifferent. What was to be done? The fleet was in the bay, and the recruits from New England had just pitched their tents in Brooklyn: Long Island was already in the hands of the enemy. Nicholls sent Stuyvesant a letter requiring him to surrender his post, which the valiant governor refused to do without a struggle. A meeting of the principal inhabitants was called; they very properly asked for the letter which the governor had received from the English admiral. They wished to know the terms he offered to induce them to acknowledge English authority. Rather than send the letter to be read to the "wavering multitude," the angry Stuyvesant tore it to pieces. Instead, therefore, of preparing to defend themselves against the enemy the people protested against the arbitrary conduct of the

CHAP. XIII.

Sept., 1664.

governor. At length the capitulation was made, on the condition that the people should be protected in their rights and property, religion and institutions.

In a few days Fort Orange surrendered; and in a few weeks the Dutch and the Swedes on the shores of the Delaware passed under the rule of England. Nicholls was appointed governor. New Amsterdam was to be hereafter known as NEW YORK, and Fort Orange as ALBANY.

A treaty was also made with the Mohawks: they had been the friends of the Dutch, and they now became the friends of the English, and remained so in all their contests, both with the French, and the Colonies during the revolution. They served as a bulwark against incursions from Canada. Their hatred of the French was intense. They said, the Canada Indians never invaded their territory unaccompanied by a "skulking" Frenchman.

England and Holland were soon at war again; and suddenly a Dutch squadron anchored in the bay, and demanded the surrender of the colony. Thus the territory became New Netherland once more.

In a little more than a year peace was made, and the province was restored to England. Thus, after half a century, the rule of the Dutch passed away, but not their influence—it still remains to bless. The struggles of their fathers in Holland in the cause of civil and religious freedom, are embalmed in the history of the progress of the human mind. In their principles tolerant, in religion Protestant, a nation of merchants and manufacturers, laborious and frugal, they acquired a fame as wide as the world for the noble virtue of honesty. Defenders of the right, they were brave, bold, and plain spoken; they were peaceful; they were justly celebrated for their moral and domestic virtues: nowhere was the wife, the mother, the sister more honored and cherished. Such were the ancestry and such the traditions of the people just come under British rule. A little more than a century elapsed, and

CHAP. XIII.

their descendants, with scarcely an exception, took their places with the lovers of their country in the struggle for independence.

1664.

The change of rulers was not beneficial to the people; the promises made to them were not kept; their taxes were increased; the titles to their lands were even called in question, that the rapacious governors might reap a harvest of fees for giving new ones. It was openly avowed by the unprincipled Lovelace, the successor of Nicholls, that the true way to govern was by severity; to impose taxes so heavy that the people should have "liberty for no thought but how to discharge them." When the people respectfully petitioned in relation to their grievances, their petition was burned by the hangman before the town-hall in New York, by order of the same Lovelace. The same species of tyranny was exercised over the colonists on the Delaware.

1667.

The Duke of York sold to Lord Berkeley, brother of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, and Sir George Carteret, the soil of New Jersey. They made liberal offers to emigrants to settle in the territory, promising to collect no rents for five years. Many families were induced to come from Long Island. Their principal settlement was named, in honor of Carteret's wife, Elizabethtown. All went smoothly till pay-day came, and then those colonists who had lived under Dutch rule refused to pay. They contended that they had bought their lands from the Indians, the original owners of the soil, and that Carteret had no claim to rent because the king had given him a grant of land which did not belong to him. Others said they derived no benefit from the proprietary, and why should they pay him quit-rents?

1670.

The Duke of York had but little regard to the rights of Carteret or Berkeley; he appointed Andros, "the tyrant of New England," governor of the colony. Berkeley,

1674.

disgusted by such treatment, sold what was called West Jersey to Edward Byllinge, an English Quaker, who in a short time transferred his claim to William Penn and two others, who afterward made an arrangement with Carteret to divide the territory. Penn and his associates taking West Jersey, and Carteret retaining East Jersey, the line of division being drawn from the ocean, at Little Egg Harbor, to the north-western corner of the province. 1674.

Episcopacy having been re-established in Scotland, a certain portion of the Presbyterians, the Cameronians or Covenanters, refused to acknowledge the authority of that church, and in consequence they became the victims of a severe persecution. To escape this they were induced to emigrate in great numbers to East Jersey, which thus became the cradle of Presbyterianism in America. The original settlers of New Jersey were the Dutch, English, Quakers, Puritans, from New England, and Presbyterians, from Scotland, which may account for that sturdy opposition to royal or ecclesiastical tyranny so characteristic of its inhabitants. 1683.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONIZATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Quakers.—William Penn.—His Education.—Obtains a Charter.—Preparations to plant a Colony.—He lands at Newcastle.—Philadelphia.—Rights of the Indians.—Settlement of Germantown.—Fletcher, the Royal Governor.—New Charter granted the People.—Prosperity of the Colony.—Trials of Penn: his Death.—Benjamin Franklin.

CHAP. XIV. 1650.

We have in the course of this history met with the sect known as Quakers,—a sect, perhaps, more than any other drawn from the humbler classes of the English people. We have found them at one time few in number, despised and persecuted; treated as the enemies of social order and morals. They were persecuted by all the sects in turn. The Puritans of New England endeavored to drive them from their shores; the Churchmen of Virginia refused them a resting place; and the politic and trading Dutch, though desirous for colonists, treated them harshly.

The Quakers loved and cherished the truths of the Bible with as much zeal as the most devoted Puritans. As non-resistants, they believed that the only evil a Christian should resist, was the evil of his own heart: as followers of the Prince of Peace, they were opposed to war. How much blood and sorrow would be spared the nations, if in this respect they were governed by the principles of Quakerism!

We have now to speak of this despised sect as the founders of a State, where their principles were to be applied to the government of men.

George Fox, their founder, had visited the American colonies; the condition of his followers touched his heart. Was there no asylum for them in the New World? Who should furnish them the means to form for themselves a settlement? 1673. 1674.

Among the few who joined them from the higher classes of English society, was one destined to exert a great influence on the sect, and to be admired and reverenced as a benefactor of his race by the good of every age. When a mere youth, his heart was touched by the conversation of a simple-minded Quaker, who spoke of the peace and comfort derived from the witnessing of God's Spirit with his own: "the inner light," or voice of conscience. This youth was William Penn, the son of Sir William Penn, who was distinguished as a successful naval commander in the times of Cromwell and Charles II. The position of his father afforded him great advantages. He studied at Oxford University, was then sent to the Continent to improve his mind by travel and intercourse with men, and to eradicate his tendency toward Quakerism. After the absence of two years he returned, improved it is true, but in religion still a member of that despised sect everywhere spoken against: a sect, which its enemies affirmed, would destroy every government. The ambitious and worldly-minded Admiral was angry and disappointed. He insisted that his son should renounce Quakerism. The son reflected—he loved and reverenced his father; he desired to obey and please him, but could he violate his conscience? No; he calmly resigned all earthly preferment, and became an exile from his father's house. A mother's love secretly relieved his pressing wants. 1661.

Before long we find him in prison for his religion. When the Bishop of London threatened him with imprisonment for life if he did not recant, he calmly replied, "Then my prison shall be my grave!" When a clergyman, the learned Stillingfleet, was sent to convince him

CHAP. XIV. 1663.

by arguments, he referred to his prison-walls, and remarked, "The Tower is to me the worst argument in the world; those who use force for religion never can be in the right!" "Religion," said he, on another occasion, "is my crime and my innocence; it makes me a prisoner to malice, but my own freeman." At the expiration of a year he was released, through the intercession of his father.

Promotion in the navy, royal favor, and every worldly inducement was now urged to tempt him to desert his principles; but in vain. Within a year he was arraigned again for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. As he pleaded his own cause, he told the court "that no power on earth had the right to debar him from worshipping God." The jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. The court, determined to persecute, ordered them back to their room, saying, "We will have a verdict, or you shall starve for it." Penn admonished them as Englishmen to remember their rights. To the great annoyance of his enemies, the jury, though they "received no refreshments for two days and two nights," again brought in a verdict of not guilty. The court fined the jury it could not intimidate. Though thus acquitted, the recorder, under plea of contempt of court, fined Penn, and again remanded him to prison. As he was leaving the room, he mildly remarked to the angry magistrate: "Thy religion persecutes and mine forgives." His father soon afterward paid the fine, and he was liberated. Ere long that father, when dying, became reconciled to his son, and called him to his bedside. Worldly prosperity and honor did not seem so important to the admiral in his dying hour as they had done in other days. "Son William," said he, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching and living, you will make an end to the priests!"

Weary of persecutions, Penn determined to seek in

CHAP. XIV.

the New World an asylum for himself and his suffering friends. There was, perhaps, no man in the kingdom better fitted to take the lead in colonizing a State: familiar, from books as well as from observation, with the governments of Europe, and by personal intercourse with some of the most enlightened statesmen of the age; the friend and companion of men, as eminent in science and philosophy as they were in purity of morals. 1680.

His father had bequeathed him a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the government. He offered to receive lands in payment. Charles II., always in want of money, readily granted him territory west of the Delaware river, corresponding very nearly with the present limits of the State of PENNSYLVANIA,—a name given it by the king. The Duke of York claimed the region now known as the State of Delaware; Penn wishing to have free access to the bay obtained it from him. 1681. Mar. 4. 1682.

As proprietary he now drew up a proclamation for those who were about to emigrate, as well as for the settlers already on the Delaware. He proposed that they should make their own laws, and pledged himself to interfere with nothing that should be for their benefit; saying, "I propose to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; that the will of no one man may hinder the good of a whole country." April.

With instructions to govern in accordance with law, he sent his nephew, William Markham, as agent. He had expended so much to aid his suffering brethren, that his estate was now nearly exhausted. When about to sail for his colony he wrote to his wife: "Live low and sparingly till my debts are paid; I desire not riches, but to owe nothing; be liberal to the poor, and kind to all." At this time of embarrassment a very large sum was offered him by a company of traders for the exclusive right to trade between the rivers Susquehannah and Delaware.

CHAP. XIV.

He refused to sell such right, saying each one in his colony should have an equal privilege to acquire property.

1682. Oct. 27. Penn, accompanied by one hundred emigrants, landed at New Castle. The Swedes, Dutch, and English alike welcomed him. He passed up the river to where the capital of his province was yet to rise; there, under a spreading elm, he met a large number of sachems of the neighboring tribes, and with them entered into a treaty. No record of this treaty has been preserved, yet it remained for fifty years in force; neither party violating its provisions. The sons of the forest received the "Quaker King" as a friend, and they never had cause to regret their confidence. He promised to treat them justly; a promise observed not only by himself but by the Quaker settlers. During this year twenty-three ships laden with emigrants arrived safely in the colony; and they continued to flock thither from year to year.

Lands, lying between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, were purchased from the Swedes: a place desirable for a city, from its situation, healthy air, and springs of fresh water. It was to be a "greene country town, gardens round each house, that it might never be burned, and always be wholesome." The streets were marked out in the primitive forest by blazing the trees—the walnut, the spruce, the chestnut. A city for all mankind, it

1683. was significantly named PHILADELPHIA.

The new city grew very rapidly: in three years it contained more than six hundred houses, while the colony had a population of nearly ten thousand. Well might the benevolent proprietary look forward to the future in cheerful hope; he had based his government on truth and justice. The rights of the Red Men were respected; no one could wrong them without incurring the same penalty as that for wronging a fellow planter. If difficulties occurred between them and the settlers, the juries to try such cases were to be composed of six Indians and six

white men. In the earlier days of the colony the natives manifested their friendship by bringing as presents the products of the chase, wild fowl and venison. CHAP. XIV. 1683. Mar.

Presently the first Assembly in Pennsylvania was convened. Penn gave to the people a "charter of liberties," a representative government, and toleration in religious matters; to prevent lawsuits, three "peace-makers" were appointed for each county. Laws were made to restrain vice and to promote virtue. Labor upon the Sabbath 1684. was forbidden. The confidence which the Indians had in his integrity gave security to their friendship, and Pennsylvania was free from frontier wars, and more prosperous and happy than any other colony. Had the Red Men been treated as justly by the other colonists as by the Quakers, thousands of lives would have been spared and the general prosperity of the whole country promoted.

The interests of the young were not forgotten; efforts 1692. were made for their education, and a public high-school chartered by Penn, was established at Philadelphia, where already a printing-press, the third in the colonies, was doing its work.

After Penn returned to England, the people of Delaware, or the three lower counties, who sympathized but little with the Quakers, began to be restless. They 1691. feigned grievances, as a means to become independent. He yielded to their request, and appointed for them a separate deputy-governor.

Being the personal friend of the Duke of York, Penn urged him when he became king, to relieve the oppressed, and in consequence more than twelve hundred Quakers were liberated, who had been imprisoned many years for conscience' sake. His benevolence was not limited to those of his own persuasion, but extended to all, both Catholic and Protestant.

When the great revolution drove the arbitrary James into exile, and placed William of Orange on the throne, 1688.

CHAP. XIV. 1692. Penn was accused by his enemies of favoring the interests of the exiled monarch, with whom he corresponded. This correspondence afforded no evidence of the truth of these calumnies, but William lent them too ready an ear. He was at a loss to conceive how Penn could be the friend of James in exile, without wishing him to return to England as a sovereign. These false charges, together with rumors of dissensions in the colony, furnished the royal government a pretext for depriving Penn of his proprietary rights.

The Quakers became divided in their sentiments; a few went to the extreme of non-resistance, saying, that it was inconsistent for a Quaker to engage in public affairs, either as a magistrate or as a legislator. The prime leader in this was George Keith. After disturbing the province beyond even Quaker endurance, he was indicted by the grand jury, as a disturber of the peace and violator of the laws. He was tried, and fined for using improper language; but lest it might be thought a punishment for the free expression of opinion, the fine was remitted. The cry of persecution was raised; but time proved the falsehood of the charge.

The first German emigrants to Pennsylvania were Quakers in their religious views—converts of Penn and Barclay, who some years before had travelled on the continent as missionaries. These settled Germantown and the vicinity. Twenty years later, the ravages of war
1690. drove many Germans from their homes on the banks of the Rhine. These emigrated in great numbers first to England, and then to Pennsylvania. In religious views they were German Reformed and Lutherans. They chose fertile districts, settled together, and soon became celebrated as the best farmers in America. Their numbers gradually increased by accessions of emigrants from home. They did not assimilate with the English colonists: preserved inviolate their customs, their religion, and their language, which alone they permitted to be taught

their children. The isolation of a population so large, had an important influence upon the people of Pennsylvania, on their system of education by common schools, on the struggle for independence, and since politically. 1692.

An attempt was now made to convert Pennsylvania and Delaware into one royal province, over which Benjamin Fletcher was appointed governor. Some of the magistrates refused to recognize his authority, and some resigned their offices. When the Assembly met, the opposition became more determined. The members of this body deemed the laws made under the charter received from Penn as valid; neither would they legislate under any other authority. The charter given by King Charles, said they, is as valid as one given by King William; and they refused to throw a suspicion over their existing laws by re-enacting them. They never noticed the governor; with Quaker coolness passed and repassed his door, and in every respect ignored his presence.

Meanwhile, Penn had been persecuted and annoyed; he was arraigned three times on frivolous charges, which were as often not sustained. He prepared once more to visit his colony. Crowds of emigrants were ready to go with him, when he was arrested again. Forced to go into retirement, he determined to wait till time should bring him justice. This delay ruined the remainder of his fortune; death entered his family, and robbed him of his wife and eldest son. Treated harshly by the world, and in some instances by those whom he thought his friends, he mildly persevered; never changed his views of right and justice; conscious of the purity of his motives, he serenely waited for the time when his character should be vindicated from the aspersions cast upon it. Ere long that time came, the charges laid against him were proved to be false, and he was restored to his proprietary rights. 1690. 1694.

The want of means delayed his visit to his colony, but he sent Markham as his deputy. He called an Assembly;

CHAP. XIV.

1694. the people, alarmed at the recent encroachments upon their chartered rights, framed for themselves a liberal constitution. The Assembly would levy no tax until this was granted. When Penn arrived, he recognized as valid what the people had done. When the proposition was

1700. made to form a "constitution which would be firm and lasting," he said to them, "Keep what is good in the charter and frame of government, and add what may best suit the common good." It was agreed to surrender the old charter, and in its place frame a new constitution.

1702. The territories wished to be separate, and Delaware was permitted to have her own legislature; though the governor was to be the same as that of Pennsylvania. The two governments were never again united. All the political privileges the people desired he cheerfully granted; they enjoyed religious liberty, and annually elected their own magistrates.

A large emigration began about this period, and continued for half a century, to pour into Pennsylvania from the north of Ireland and from Scotland. These were principally Presbyterians. They settled in the eastern and middle parts of the colony, and thence gradually extended their settlements west, making inroads upon the forest.

When Penn returned to the colony it was his intention to remain, and make it the home of his children. Rumors, however, reached the province that the charters of all the colonies were to be taken away, and they thrown upon the tender mercies of court favorites. He had not only purchased his territory from Charles, but he had bought the land from the Indians themselves; he was therefore the sole owner of the unoccupied soil of Pennsylvania. These rumors rendered it necessary for him to return to England. Having arranged the government so as best to promote the interests of the people, be bade farewell to the colony, for which he had spent the better

part of his life, and for which he breathed his parting blessing.

1700. The virtues of William Penn saved the colony, so dear to his heart, from becoming a province ruled by royal governors and impoverished by tax-gatherers. His enemies never could persuade the court to deprive him of his property. Though in his old age so poor, on account of the sacrifices he had made, as to be compelled to go for a season to a debtor's prison, he refused to sell his estates in America unless he could secure for the people the full enjoyment of their liberties. His death was as peaceful as his life had been benevolent. He left three sons, who 1718. were minors. For them the government was administered by deputies until the Revolution, when the Com- 1776. monwealth of Pennsylvania purchased their claims for more than half a million of dollars.

Six years after the death of Penn, there came to Philadelphia a youth of seventeen, who was yet to exert a great influence, not merely upon that colony but upon the others, while his fame was to be as great in the world of science. This youth was Benjamin Franklin, a native of Boston, the son of a tallow-chandler; at which business, till ten years of age, he labored. But his ardent mind craved something far beyond. During his leisure time, and till late at night, he read and appreciated all the books he could borrow, and his limited means could purchase.

At twelve he was bound to his eldest brother, a printer, to learn the art. There he experienced, not the kindness of a brother but the harshness of a tyrant. Worn out with this oppression, the determined youth sold his little library to furnish means to travel, and without giving notice to his friends, left to seek his fortune in the wide world. He travelled first to New York, where he tarried but a day, and then passed on to Philadelphia. There he arrived a stranger—his money reduced to a

CHAP. XIV.

1724. single dollar; a penny roll served him for his first dinner. In one of the two printing-offices of the city he sought and obtained employment. Afterward he went to London, where he spent a year and a half in the same business; then returned, but every thing that could be of avail to him he had carefully marked and treasured up. In truth he never lost a moment; nothing escaped his notice, whether in the natural or political world. His wonderful combination of diligence, keen observation, and practical wisdom, fitted him to trace the current of human affairs, as well as deduce laws from the phenomena of nature.

His experiments in electricity, the discovery of its identity with lightning, and the invention of the lightning-rod, made his name famous in the universities and courts of the Old World; while his "Poor Richard's Almanac," with its aphorisms of worldly wisdom, penetrated every nook and corner of his native land, and by its silent influence did much to inculcate the virtues of industry and economy.

"The first native of America, who wrote the English language with classic taste and elegance," his influence was impressed upon the literature of the land. He established the first American periodical magazine, conducted a newspaper, and wrote popular pamphlets on topics of public interest.

Pennsylvania seems to have been the chosen home of
1750. the Germans. In the autumn of one year came twenty ships to Philadelphia, with twelve thousand German emigrants on board. The two following years brought each nearly as many. The Rev. Henry M. Muhlenburg, whose influence was exerted for fifty years in laying the founda-
1742. tion of the Lutheran Church in America, had already commenced his labors. The Swedish churches on the Delaware sympathized in doctrine with the Lutheran, but in time the former, more inclined to adopt the English language, united with the Episcopal church.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONIZATION OF THE CAROLINAS.

The first Settlers.—Grants to Royal Favorites.—The "Grand Model."—Settlement at Cape Fear River.—Sir John Yeamans.—Emigrants under Sayle.—The Huguenots.—The People Independent.—Rice.—Churchmen and Dissenters.—Manufactures prohibited.—War between England and Spain.—Failure to capture St. Augustine.—The ruin of the Appalachees.—Indian Wars.—German Emigrants.—The People repudiate the Authority of the Proprietaries.

WE have now to speak of the permanent settlement of the land, which the chivalric Sir Walter Raleigh endeavored to colonize; and to which the noble Coligny sent his countrymen to found a Protestant State, and where they perished by the hand of Spanish violence. That vast region, extending from the southern border of Virginia to the northern border of Florida, was represented as a "delightsome land" by the adventurers who had explored it. Thither, during the space of forty years, emigrants had gone from Virginia. These were Dissenters, a term which now began to be applied to all Protestants not attached to the Church of England. This Church, established by law in Virginia, exercised great illiberality toward those who would not conform to its ceremonies; and many Dissenters, greatly annoyed by the collectors of tythes, emigrated further south. Among them was a company of Presbyterians who settled on the Chowan. Berkeley, governor of Virginia, assumed jurisdiction over them by appointing one of their number,

1622.

1658.

CHAP. XV.

William Drummond, governor. Drummond was a Scotchman by birth, a devoted advocate of popular liberty, the same who afterward, as has been related, returned to Virginia, and was put to death by Berkeley for the part he took in Bacon's attempt to vindicate the rights of the people.

1653.

1676.

Charles II., who gave away vast regions with as much coolness as if they had really belonged to him, granted to eight of his favorites a charter and certain privileges, to repay them for their loyalty in restoring him to the throne of his father. This grant was of the territory extending from the present southern line of Virginia to the St. Johns, in Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Many of these proprietaries were men of influence in their day. Among these were the Earl of Clarendon, who was prime minister; Sir Ashley Cooper, better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury; General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who took an active part in the restoration of Charles; Sir William Berkeley, whom we have met in Virginia history; and Sir George Carteret, a proprietary of New Jersey. They professed to have "a pious zeal for the spread of the gospel," but their conduct has led the world to believe that they desired more to enrich themselves by means of a vast land speculation.

1663.

The labor of framing a government for their empire in the New World they intrusted to Shaftesbury, and the celebrated philosopher, John Locke. Their joint production by pre-eminence was named the "Grand Model" or "Fundamental Constitutions." In it the right to rule was assumed to belong only to those of noble blood; and therefore its principles were pronounced immortal. It made provision for Earls, Barons, and Squires, in whose hands, under various forms, should be the entire administration of affairs; while the people were to be attached to the soil as tenants. Those who owned fifty acres of land had the privilege of voting, and were termed freemen; but

those who were tenants had no such privilege, neither could they ever rise above that station. To the freemen an Assembly was granted, but on such conditions, that its acts were under the control of the aristocracy. Every religion was professedly tolerated, but care was taken to declare that the Church of England alone was orthodox. Such was the frame of government prepared for the people of the Carolinas by the united wisdom of two philosophers. Had it been designed for a people living in the Middle Ages, it might, at least, have had a trial; an honor to which the "Grand Model" never attained. It was as easy to convert log-cabins into castles, as to make the people perpetual tenants; they might be made nobles, but never dependents. Great numbers of them had left Virginia expressly to escape restraint and oppression; and they had very little respect for the authority of the proprietaries, while they certainly did not fear and honor the king. 1663.

The contest soon began. The proprietaries claimed the territory because the king had given them a charter, and they demanded quit-rents; the settlers, already in possession, claimed their lands because they had purchased them from the Indians. Why should they pay quit-rents?

A few years before, a small company from New England had formed a settlement on Cape Fear river. Every inducement was held out to retain these settlers, and to encourage others to join them. To each one was offered one hundred acres of land, at a quit-rent of half a penny an acre; but the barrenness of the soil neutralized every effort. Many of these colonists returned home, and the distress of the remainder was so great, that contributions in their behalf were taken up in New England. 1661.

Three years later quite an accession was made to this settlement by a company of planters from the Barbadoes. Sir John Yeamans, their leader, was appointed governor. 1664.

CHAP. XV.

1664. He was instructed, in order to induce others to come, to be "very tender" toward the New Englanders. The people did the best they could with their pine barrens, by making staves and shingles; these they sent to the West Indies: a trade carried on to this day from that region. It was enacted that debts contracted out of the colony could not be collected from the emigrant by process of law until he had been a resident five years. It thus became a partial asylum for debtors.

1670. A company of emigrants, under the direction of William Sayle, was also sent by the proprietaries; and to superintend their own interests they appointed Joseph West commercial agent. They landed first at Port Royal, where the remains of the fort built by the Huguenots, one hundred years before, were still visible. It had been called Carolina, in honor of the reigning French king; the name was now retained in honor of Charles of England. One of the proprietaries, Carteret, gave his name to the colony. For some reason they, before long, removed to another situation further north, where they formed a settlement between two rivers, which, in honor of Shaftesbury, were named the Ashley and the Cooper. A location near the harbor, and better suited for commercial purposes, was afterward noticed. In process of time a village grew up on this spot; it is now known as the city of CHARLESTON.

The colony continued to increase from emigration. Dissenters came, hoping to enjoy the religious rights denied them at home; Dutch and Germans from Europe; Presbyterians from the North of Ireland as well as from Scotland—the latter furnishing great numbers of "physicians, clergymen, lawyers, and schoolmasters;"—Churchmen from England, who expected their church to be established in accordance with the provisions of the "Grand Model;" emigrants from New York, because of the high-handed measures of the English governors;

and Huguenots, under the patronage of Charles II. He wished to introduce the culture of the vine and olive, the raising of silk-worms, and ultimately the manufacture of silk. Great numbers of the Huguenots, from Languedoc, in the south of France, came to the Carolinas, attracted by the genial climate. CHAP. XV. 1670.

A law granting toleration to the Protestants of France was made by Henry IV.: this was the famous Edict of Nantes, thus named from the city where it was given. This law remained in force almost ninety years, when it was revoked by Louis XIV. He had, as long as he could enjoy it, spent his life in vice and the grossest debauchery; now he thought to silence the clamors of conscience, that terrible enemy of wicked men, and yet win heaven by converting to the Romish church his Protestant subjects. Encouraged in this by the priests and the wiles of an apostate woman, he let loose upon these industrious and well-disposed people the terrors of persecution. Why go into the details of their wrongs?—the heart sickens at the remembrance. By a refinement of cruelty, they were forbidden to flee from their native land, and every avenue of escape was guarded by their inveterate enemies. Yet, after encountering unheard-of dangers and trials, many of them did escape, and more than five hundred thousand fled to different parts of the world. In the New World they were everywhere welcomed by sympathizing friends. 1598. 1685.

The Huguenots were so far superior to the Catholic portion of the French nation, in intelligence and the knowledge of the mechanic arts, that nearly all the manufactures of the country were in their hands. This skill they carried with them, and they thus became desirable citizens wherever they chose to setttle. In South Carolina their influence was specially felt. Their quiet and inoffensive manners won for them respect; their integrity and industry gave them influence. Ere long they mingled

CHAP. XV. 1670. with the inhabitants; and their descendants, almost universally, when the hour of trial came, were found on the side of justice and liberty.

The original inhabitants of the Carolinas were peculiar in their character. Numbers of them went thither from the other colonies to avoid restraint; they refused to pay taxes to the proprietaries or to the king, or duties on trade; they were friendly to the buccaneers or pirates, who infested the Southern waters; they warred against the Indians, to obtain captives to be sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. There were no towns in the colony; the planters were scattered along the streams and valleys. There were no roads; they travelled along paths through the woods, known only by the blazed trees, or on the rivers by means of row-boats. The proprietaries soon saw the impossibility of inducing a people so free and fearless to conform to a government under the "Grand Model."

Sir John Yeamans, who had been appointed governor,
1671. brought with him, on his return from Barbadoes, fifty families, and nearly two hundred slaves. This was the commencement of negro slavery in South Carolina. The slaves increased very rapidly, and in a few years so many had been introduced that in number they were nearly two to one of the whites.

Yeamans, "a sordid calculator," had been impoverished in England, and went abroad to improve his fortune. He took special pains to guard his own interests; for this reason he was dismissed by the proprietaries. Under his successor, the wise and liberal West, the colony flourished for some years. He, too, was dismissed, not because he favored himself but because he favored the people.

The next struggle came, when an attempt was made to levy duties on the little trade of the colony. The people considered themselves independent of the proprietaries as well as of the king, and under no obligation to pay taxes in any form. That there was much dissatisfac-

tion in the colony, may be inferred from the fact that in the space of six years it had five governors. To allay these troubles James Colleton, a brother of one of the proprietaries, was sent as governor. But when he attempted to collect rents and taxes he met with as little success as any of his perdecessors: the people seized the records of the province, imprisoned his secretary, and boldly defied him and his authority. 1671.

Though many of the settlers left Virginia on account of the want of religious privileges, they found but very few ministers of the gospel in the country. Quaker preachers were the first to visit the Carolinas; afterward George Fox himself carried them the truth as he believed it. The people warmly welcomed the messenger of the gospel. The influence of this visit was to strengthen the hearts of his followers, and to make many converts. The Quakers, everywhere the friends of popular rights, exerted much influence against the arbitrary rule of the proprietaries.

There arose a party of "Cavaliers and ill-livers," whose morals were fashioned after those of the court of the profligate Charles. Opposition was excited by their high-handed measures, and another party sprang into existence; it was composed of the Presbyterians, Quakers, and the Huguenots, who had recently been admitted to the rights of citizenship. The disputes were chiefly in relation to rents and land tenures.

In the midst of this confusion, an upright Quaker, John Archdale, was elected governor. He assumed the part of mediator, and attempted, with some success, to reconcile the disputants. In selecting his council he chose men of all parties, and by various judicious regulations partially allayed the strife. By just treatment he made friends of the Indians; he ransomed and sent home some of their Indian converts, who were held by a neighboring tribe as slaves, and thus conciliated the Spaniards at St. Augustine. The kind act was reciprocated; the Span- 1694.

CHAP. XV.

iards restored to their friends some English sailors shipwrecked on their coast.

1694. The Dissenters numbered two-thirds of the population, yet, for the sake of peace, they consented that one minister of the Church of England should be maintained at the public expense. Upon one occasion the Churchmen and aristocracy accidentally had a majority of one in the Assembly; they manifested their gratitude for the concession just mentioned, by depriving the Dissenters of all their political privileges; they made the Church of England the established church, to be maintained at the public expense, and proceeded to divide the colony into parishes, to which the "Society for the Propagation of
1704. the Gospel" was to appoint pastors. The aggrieved people appealed to the House of Lords for redress; and the intolerant act of the Legislature was declared to be null and void. The law disfranchising Dissenters was repealed, that granting a support to the Church of England remained in force till the Revolution.

Notwithstanding these difficulties the colony prospered, and increased in numbers from emigration. Among these a company from Massachusetts formed a settle-
1698. ment twenty miles back of Charleston. During Archdale's administration, the captain of a ship from Madagascar gave him some rice, which he distributed among the planters to be sown. The experiment was successful, and soon Carolina rice was celebrated as the best in the world. The fur trade with the Indians was also profitable, while the forests produced their share of profit in lumber and tar.

The colonists attempted to manufacture domestic cloths to supply their own wants; an enterprise they were soon compelled to abandon. The manufacturers and merchants of England complained, as they themselves wished to enjoy the profits that would arise from supplying them. Parliament passed an act forbidding woollen

goods to be transported from one colony to another, or to any foreign port. This unrighteous law, as was designed, broke up nearly all colonial trade and manufactures, and gave the English trades and manufactures the monopoly of both. We shall see how this policy affected all the colonists. In the Carolinas, they could only engage in planting, and a new impulse was given to the slave trade. 1699.

War had arisen between England and Spain, and their children in the New World unfortunately took up arms against each other. James Moore, who was now governor of Carolina, undertook an expedition against St. Augustine. He is represented as a "needy, forward, ambitious man," who was in the habit of kidnapping Indians and selling them as slaves: now he hoped to plunder the Spaniards at St. Augustine. He pressed 1702. some vessels into his service, and set sail with a portion of the troops, and sent others with the Indian allies by land. The town was easily taken, but the soldiers retired to a well fortified fort, and defied the besiegers. Moore must send to the island of Jamaica for cannon, to enable him to take the fort. Meanwhile an Indian runner had sped through the forest to Mobile, and informed the French settlers there of what was going on. They sent word to Havana. We may judge the surprise of Moore, when he saw two Spanish men-of-war come to rescue St. Augustine, instead of the vessel he expected from Jamaica. He immediately abandoned his supplies and stores, and made his way by land as best he could, to Charleston. The colony, by this unwise and wicked expedition, only gained a debt which pressed heavily upon the people for years.

The Appalachees of Florida, under the influence of Spanish priests, had become converts to Romanism; they built churches, and began to cultivate the soil and live in villages. As free intercourse existed between Florida and Louisiana; the English colonists professed alarm at the influence the French and Spaniards might have

CHAP. XV.

over the Indians of that region. This furnished an excuse for the ambitious Moore to lead an expedition against
1705. these inoffensive Indians, whose only crime was, that they were willing to be taught religion and agriculture by Spanish priests. With about fifty whites and one thousand friendly Indians, he went through the wilderness, away across the State of Georgia, down on the Gulf to Appalachee Bay. The first intimation the Indians had of this freebooting expedition was an attack upon their village, one morning at daylight. The assailants met with so warm a reception, that at first they were forced to retire, but not until they had set fire to a church. There happened to be in the bay a Spanish ship, whose commander the next day, with a few white men and four hundred Indians, made an attack on the invaders, but he was defeated. The Indian villages were now destroyed, the churches plundered of their plate, and numbers of Indians taken captive, and removed to the banks of the Altamaha, while their own country was given to the Seminoles, the allies of the invaders. Thus the English placed Indians friendly to themselves between the Spanish and French settlements, while in virtue of this expedition they claimed the soil of Georgia. More than one hundred and twenty-five years afterward, the descendants of these Seminoles were removed beyond the Mississippi. Even then the ruins of churches marked the stations of the Spanish missions among the Appalachees.

The next year brought Charleston two unexpected enemies—a malignant fever, and while it was raging, a squadron of Spanish and French ships to avenge the
1706. attack upon the Appalachees. The people, under William Rhett and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, were soon ready to meet them. When they landed, they were opposed at every point, and driven back. A French ship was captured; and of the eight hundred men who landed, more than three hundred were either killed or taken prisoners. This victory was looked upon as a great triumph.

In this conflict the Huguenots performed well their part. An unusual number of them had settled in Charleston; here they founded a church, its forms of worship the same as those to which they were accustomed at home. This church still remains, the only one in the land that has preserved inviolate these pristine forms. CHAP. XV. 1693.

A general effort was now made to extend the influence of the Church of England in the colonies. The politic William of Orange looked upon the project with a favorable eye. A "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts" was formed in England. Its object, the conversion of the Indians, was worthy; but at this time, by means of worldly men and politicians, its influence was directed to the establishment of the Church of England in all the American colonies. The project everywhere met with great opposition except in Virginia; there the dissenters were few in number. This society founded many churches in the colonies, which remain even to this day. 1701

North Carolina was called the "Sanctuary of Runaways," a "land where there was scarcely any government," with a population made up of "Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and other evil-disposed persons." Such was the language of royalists and those opposed to freedom in religious opinions. The proprietaries determined to establish the Church of England, and maintain it at public expense. Those who refused to conform to this law were debarred from holding offices of trust. The people did refuse, and soon there "was but one clergyman in the whole country;" and those in favor of freedom in religious opinions, were stigmatized as a "rabble of profligate persons." These tyrannies finally led to open rebellion on the part of the people, who wished to govern themselves, and when unmolested did it well. 1712.

Thus far North Carolina had escaped the horrors of Indian warfare. There were many tribes west and south of their territory. The greater part of the region now

CHAP. XV. 1712.

occupied by the States of Georgia and Alabama, was the home of the Creeks or Muscogees, numbering nearly thirty thousand.

The territory of the Yamassees lay immediately west of the settlement on the north bank of the Savannah. In the vicinity were the Catawbas, on the river which perpetuates their name. West of these, a mountaineer tribe, the Cherokees, roamed through the beautiful valleys of the upper Tennessee, while they claimed as their hunting grounds the regions north of them to the Kanawha and the Ohio.

A great change had come over the powerful tribes along the coast. The Hatteras tribe, which, in Raleigh's time, one hundred and twenty-five years before, numbered nearly twenty thousand, was now reduced to less than one hundred. Some tribes had entirely disappeared; had retired farther back into the wilderness, or become extinct. Vices copied from the white man had wrought this ruin.

The Tuscaroras, a warlike tribe, whose ancestors had emigrated from the north, became alarmed at the encroachments of the colonists upon their lands. They determined to make an effort to regain their beautiful valleys.

A company of German exiles from the Rhine had come under the direction of De Graffenried. The proprietaries assigned them lands that belonged to the Indians. Lawson, the surveyor-general of the province, and Graffenried, when on an exploring tour up the Neuse, were seized by a party of Tuscaroras, who hurried them on, day and night, to one of their villages. There several chiefs of the tribe held a council, and discussed the wrongs they had suffered from the English. They finally determined to burn the man, who with compass and chain had marked out their lands into farms for the settlers. When Graffenried made known to them that he had been only a short time in the country; that he was the "chief of a dif-

ferent tribe from the English," and moreover promised to take no more of their lands, they did not put him to death with Lawson. He was kept a prisoner five weeks, and then permitted to return home. During this time, the Tuscaroras, and their allies the Corees, had attacked the settlements on the Roanoke and Pamlico sound. The carnage continued for three days, and many of the poor people, who had fled from persecution at home, perished by the tomahawk in the land of their adoption. 1712. 1711.

The people appealed to Virginia and to South Carolina for aid. Only a part of the Tuscaroras had engaged in the attack. With another portion of the tribe, Spotswood, governor of Virginia, made a treaty of peace,—the only assistance he could give. Governor Craven of South Carolina sent to their aid a small force, and a number of friendly Indians. These drove the Tuscaroras to their fort, and compelled them to make peace. These same troops, as they were returning home, basely violated the treaty just made; attacked some Indian towns, and seized their inhabitants to sell them as slaves. The war was of course renewed. The Tuscaroras, driven from one place of concealment to another, and hunted for their scalps or for slaves, finally abandoned their fair lands of the south; emigrated across Virginia and Pennsylvania to the home of their fathers, and there, at the great council-fire of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, on Oneida lake in New York, were admitted into that confederacy, of which they became the sixth nation. At this time, the people of Pennsylvania complained of the importation of these captives into their colony. A law was therefore enacted, forbidding the introduction of "negroes and slaves, as exciting the suspicion and dissatisfaction of the Indians of the province." 1712. 1713.

The war seemed to be ended, and the traders of South Carolina especially, extended their traffic with the tribes who lived in the region between that colony and the Mis-

CHAP. XV.

1713. sissippi. Soon after, these traders were driven from the villages of some of the more western tribes. This was attributed to the influence of the French of Louisiana.

The Yamassees, whom we have seen in alliance with the colonists against the Tuscaroras, when they hoped to obtain captives, now renewed their friendship with the Spaniards, with whom they had been at variance,—for they hated the priests, who attempted to convert them. They induced the Catawbas, the Creeks and the Cherokees, who had also been allies of the colonists against the Tuscaroras, to join them. This alliance was likewise attributed to Spanish and French influence. Governor Spotswood seems to have revealed the truth, when he wrote to the "Board of Trade" in London, that "the Indians never break with the English without gross provocation from persons trading with them." These tribes had been looked upon as "a tame and peaceable people," and fair game for unprincipled traders.

1715. The savages cunningly laid their plans, and suddenly, one morning, fell upon the unsuspecting settlers, killed great numbers and took many prisoners. The people fled toward the sea-shore. A swift runner hastened to Port Royal and alarmed the inhabitants, who escaped as best they could to Charleston. The Indians continued to prowl around the settlements, and drove the inhabitants before them, until the colony was on the verge of ruin.

The enemy received their first check from forces sent from North Carolina. Governor Craven acted with his usual energy, he raised a few troops and went to meet the savage foe. The contest was long and severe; in the end the Indian power was broken. The Yamassees emigrated to Florida, where they were welcomed with joy by the Spaniards as St. Augustine. The other tribes retired further into the wilderness. Yet war-parties of the Yamassees continued, for years, to make incursions against the frontier settlements, and kept them in a state of alarm.

The proprietaries made no effort to protect the colonists or to share the expense of the war. They at length determined, as they must defend themselves, also to manage their own affairs, and they resolved "to have no more to do with the proprietaries, nor to have any regard to their officers." On the other hand, the proprietaries complained that the "people were industriously searching for grounds of quarrel with them, with the view of throwing off their authority." The matter was brought before Parliament, which declared the charter of the proprietaries to be forfeited. 1715.

Francis Nicholson, who for many years had been experimenting as a colonial governor, and, as he said, "been falsely sworn out of Virginia and lied out of Nova Scotia," was appointed provisional governor. He was not an example of good temper, and much less of good morals. He made a treaty with the Cherokees, who were to permit only Englishmen to settle on their lands; and with the Creeks, whose hunting-grounds were to extend to the Savannah. He had battled against popular rights in the north, now he thought best to make his path easy, and he confirmed all the laws passed by the revolutionary Assembly. However, when he left the country he mourned over the "spirit of commonwealth notions which prevailed," as the result, as he said, of intercourse with the New Englanders, who, at this time, were busily engaged in trading with the Carolinas. 1720.

These disputes were at length ended by an act of Parliament. Seven of the proprietaries sold out their claims to the government of England. The two Carolinas were now separated, and a royal governor appointed for each. 1729.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

Founded in Benevolence.—Oglethorpe.—First Emigration.—Savannah.—Encouragements.—Germans from the Western Alps.—Augusta.—The Moravians.—Scotch Highlanders.—The Wesleys.—Whitefield, his Orphan House.—War with Spain; its Cause.—Failure to Capture St. Augustine.—Repulse of the Spanish Invaders.—The Colony becomes a Royal Province.

CHAP. XVI.

1732.

We have seen some colonies founded as asylums for the oppressed for conscience' sake, and others the offspring of royal grants to needy courtiers,—bankrupt in fortune, and sometimes in morals, seeking in their old age to retrieve the follies of their youth. It is now a pleasure to record the founding of an asylum not alone for the oppressed for conscience' sake, but for the victims of unrighteous law—a colony the offspring of benevolence; the benevolence of one noble-hearted man;—one who, born in affluence, devoted his wealth, his mind and his energies to the great work. James Edward Oglethorpe, "the poor man's friend," "a Christian gentleman of the Cavalier school," had sympathy for the unfortunate who were immured within prison walls, not for crime, but for debt. He labored to have repealed the laws authorizing such imprisonment, and to reform the entire prison discipline of England.

His efforts did not end here; he desired to provide in America an asylum for those who were, while in their own land, at the mercy of hard-hearted creditors, as well as

a place of refuge for the poor, where comfort and happiness might be the reward of industry and virtue. There were, at this time, in England, more than four thousand men in prison for debt, with no hope of relief. Through his exertions, "multitudes were restored to light and freedom, who by long confinement were strangers and helpless in the country of their birth."

Others became interested in his schemes of benevolence, and a petition numerously signed by men of influence and family was presented to the king. They asked a charter to colonize the territory south of the Savannah river, then included in Carolina, with unfortunate debtors and with Protestants from the continent of Europe. A grant was given by George II. of the region lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha, and from their head springs west to the Pacific. The territory was to be known as Georgia. It was given "in trust for the poor" to twenty-one trustees for the space of twenty-one years. The trustees manifested their zeal by giving their services without any reward.

The climate of this region was thought to be very favorable for the raising of silk-worms, and the cultivation of the grape. Merchants, therefore, who could not be otherwise influenced, were induced to favor the cause by hopes of gain. The "free exercise of religion" was guaranteed to all "except papists." Under no conditions was land to be granted in tracts of more than five hundred acres. This was designed to enable the poor to become owners of the soil, and to prevent the rich from monopolizing the best lands.

Much interest was taken in this new field of benevolence, and donations were made by all classes of society. What a transition for the poor debtor! He was to exchange the gloomy walls of a prison for a home in that delightful land, where grim poverty never would annoy him more! It was determined to take as colonists only

CHAP. XVI.

the most needy and helpless, and, as far as possible, exclude those of bad morals.

1732. Thirty-five families, numbering altogether one hundred and fifty persons, embarked for their new homes. While others gave to the enterprise their substance and influence, Oglethorpe volunteered to superintend the colony in person. They took with them a "clergyman with Bibles, Prayer-books, and Catechisms," and one person skilled in the raising of silk. The company landed first at Charleston; by a vote of the Assembly, they were welcomed, and presented with supplies of rice and cattle.

Oglethorpe hastened to explore the Savannah. On a bluff twenty miles from its mouth he planted his colony. This bluff was already in the possession of a small band of Indians, from whom it was named the Yamacraw. Through the efforts of Mary Musgrove, who acted as interpreter, the bluff was purchased. This woman was a daughter of a Uchee chief, and had been sent to school in Charleston, where she had married an English trader.

1733. The colonists immediately began to build and fortify their town, which they named Savannah, the Indian name of the river. The town was regularly laid out, with wide streets and spacious squares. A garden of some acres was inclosed for a nursery of mulberry-trees to feed silk-worms; and here also experiments were made, in order to introduce European fruits.

The aged chief of the little band of Indians wished protection. He presented to Oglethorpe a buffalo skin, on the inside of which was painted an eagle. "The eagle," said he, "signifies speed, and the buffalo strength; the English are swift as the eagle, for they have flown over vast seas; they are as strong as the buffalo, for nothing can withstand them; the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo's skin is warm, and signifies protection; therefore, I hope the English will love and protect our little families." The hopes of poor old

CHAP. XVI.

1733.

Tomochechi and his tribe were doomed to be sadly disappointed.

The genial climate delighted the colonists, and they went cheerfully to work, building their houses. The chiefs of the lower Creeks came and made a treaty; they acknowledged the English rule from the Savannah to the St. John's, and west to the Chattahoochee, and gave them permission to cultivate the lands not used by their own people. Then came a messenger from the distant Cherokees, pledging the friendship of his tribe. Soon after came a Choctaw chief saying, "I have come a great way; I belong to a great nation; the French are among us; we do not like them; they build forts and trade with us; their goods are poor, and we wish to trade with you." Thus the way was opened for a profitable traffic with the tribes north of the gulf, and west to the Mississippi.

The fame of this delightful land reached Europe, and penetrated even into the fastnesses of the western Alps. There, long ages before the Reformation, a pure gospel had been taught. Now a persecution was raging, and the sufferings of these Christians, now become Lutherans, deeply enlisted the sympathies of the English people. These Germans were invited by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," to emigrate to Georgia, where they could be free from their persecutors, and lands were offered them; but they rejoiced more than all in the opportunity given them to carry the gospel to the Indians. Money was subscribed by the benevolent in England to enable them to travel from Augsburg, across the country to Frankfort on the Main. Nearly one hundred set out on their pilgrimage; they took with them, in wagons, their wives and children; their Bibles and books of devotion. The men as they travelled on foot beguiled the toils of their journey by singing praises to God, and offering prayers for his guiding hand, and his blessing on

CHAP. XVI.

1733. their enterprise. They passed down the Main to its junction with the Rhine, and thence floated down to Rotterdam, where they were joined by two clergymen, Bolzius and Gronau. They sailed to England, and were there met and encouraged by a committee of the trustees, and thence to their distant home across the ocean. The faith that had cheered them on their native mountains, sustained them amid the storms of the Atlantic; when, during a terrible tempest, the waves broke over the ship, and caused an outcry of alarm from the English, they continued their devotions and calmly sang on. When one of them was asked, "Were you not afraid?" "I thank God, no," was the reply. "But were not your women and children afraid?" "No, our women and children are not afraid to die."

A passage of fifty-seven days brought them to receive a hearty welcome at Charleston from Oglethorpe, and in

1734. less than a week they were at their journey's end. A suitable place had been chosen for their residence, they founded a village a short distance above Savannah, and significantly named it Ebenezer. In gratitude they raised a monumental stone as a memento of the goodness of God in thus bringing them to a land of rest. They were joined from time to time by others from their native land. By their industry and good morals they secured prosperity, and also the respect of their fellow-colonists.

At the head of boat navigation on the Savannah the town of Augusta was now founded. This soon became an important trading post with the Indians.

Oglethorpe gave himself unweariedly to the work of benefiting those he governed. The success of the enterprise may be safely attributed to his disinterested labors. "He," said Governor Johnson, of South Carolina, "nobly devotes all his powers to save the poor, and to rescue them from their wretchedness." After the residence of a year and a half he returned to England, taking with him

several Indian chiefs, and raw silk—the product of the colony—sufficient to make a robe for the queen. CHAP. XVI.

As an inducement for settlers, the trustees offered to each one who should emigrate, at his own expense, fifty acres of land. On these conditions came a number of Moravians or United Brethren, with the intention of devoting themselves to the conversion of the Indians. They formed a new settlement on the Ogeechee, south of the Savannah. 1734. 1735.

The same benevolent spirit which had relieved poor debtors in prison, now devised measures to ward off one of the most effective causes of debt and wretchedness; and accordingly the importation of rum into the colony was prohibited. The trustees also forbid negro slavery, "that misfortune of other plantations." They did not wish to see their province "filled with blacks, the precarious property of a few." They looked upon it as cruel and inhuman, and injurious to the "poor white settlers," for whom, in trust, they held the colony.

The next year Oglethorpe returned, with more emigrants, among whom was a party of Scotch Highlanders, with their minister, John McLeod. These founded a settlement at Darien, on the Altamaha. There likewise came two young men as preachers to the people, and as missionaries to the Indians. These were the brothers John and Charles Wesley,—men of ardent piety and zealous in the cause of religion, they hoped to make the colony eminent for its religious character. Enthusiastic in their feelings, and perhaps a little wanting in discretion, certainly in experience, they were soon involved in trouble. For a time, John Wesley drew crowds of hearers; places of amusement were almost deserted. We doubt not that he spoke the truth plainly, and in accordance with his duty, but his austere manners and denunciation of sin created him enemies. In one case, his severe exercise of church discipline excited bitter feeling 1736.

CHAP. XVI. 1738.

against himself, and sympathy for the victim of his injudicious zeal. Charles Wesley was, for awhile, the secretary of Oglethorpe, but in some unexplained manner he gave offence to his patron; at length an explanation took place, and a reconciliation. Kind and gentle in his nature he was unfitted to endure the hardships to be encountered, and to sympathize with the unpolished colonists of Georgia. After a residence of less than two years, the Wesleys, disappointed in their hopes of doing good there, left the colony forever. In their native land they became the founders of the denomination of Methodists, who have been, in that very colony, as well as in others, among the foremost in carrying the gospel to destitute settlements. Thus their labors were blessed, their prayers were answered, and their hopes realized; but, as is often the case in the ways of Infinite Wisdom, not in the form and manner in which they expected.

Just as the Wesleys, on their return home, were passing up the channel, their friend and fellow-laborer, the celebrated George Whitefield, the most eloquent preacher of his day, was leaving England to join them in Georgia. Whitefield had commenced preaching when a mere youth, and by his wonderful eloquence drew great crowds. He first preached in the prisons, and then to the poor in the open fields. Now he felt it his duty to visit the colonies. When he arrived in Georgia, his sympathies were much enlisted in behalf of the destitute children, left orphans. He visited the Lutherans at Ebenezer, where he noticed their asylum for poor children, and determined, if possible, to found a similar one. By his fervent zeal in the cause he obtained sufficient funds in England and America. The institution was founded a few miles from Savannah. During his lifetime it flourished; at his death it began to languish, and finally passed out of existence.

The Spaniards were not pleased with the encroachments of the English upon what they deemed their terri-

tory, and they sent commissioners to protest against it, and to demand the surrender of all Georgia and part of Carolina. When this was unheeded, they prepared to expel the invaders. There were other causes, which made it evident that war would soon take place between the mother countries, in which the colonies would certainly become involved.

The European governments restricted the commerce of their colonies so as to make them subserve their own interests. Those belonging to Spain must trade only with the port of Cadiz, and the merchandise shipped to them was sold at enormous prices. The English traders persisted in smuggling goods into the Spanish ports. To accomplish this they resorted to various stratagems. By treaty, an English vessel was permitted to come once a year to Portobello and dispose of her cargo; but this vessel was followed by others; they came in the night time, and slipped in more bales to supply the place of those sold, and continued to do this, till the market was supplied. Sometimes, under the pretence of distress, ships would run into Spanish ports, and thus dispose of their cargoes.

Though Spain was rich and feeble, she was haughty and cruel; and when any of these worthies, who were engaged in violating her laws, were caught, they were severely dealt with. Sometimes they were imprisoned, and sometimes their ears were cropped. This exasperated the traders, and though justly punished, they came with the assurance of ill-treated men, to ask protection from their own government. They were looked upon as martyrs to the cause of free commerce, and merchants, in defence of such men as these, did not blush to clamor for war, in the face of justice and national integrity. In truth, the English government connived at this clandestine trade, and secretly rejoiced at the advantage gained over her rival. By this connivance at injustice she gave

CHAP. XVI.

her own colonies a lesson on the subject of their trade which, in less than half a century, she found, to her surprise, they had fully learned.

1738.

Another source of irritation to the people of South Carolina, was that slaves, who ran away to Florida and put themselves under Spanish protection, were not only welcomed, but given lands; organized into military companies, and armed at the public expense. A demand made upon the authorities at St. Augustine to restore the runaways, was promptly refused. Oglethorpe hastened

1737.

to England to make preparations for the coming contest, and returned in less than a year, with a regiment of six hundred men, which he himself had raised and disciplined. He was now prepared to defend the southern boundary of Georgia. He renewed treaties with the Indian tribes north of the Gulf from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and hoped to retain them in his interest. War

1739.

was, at length, declared by England against Spain, and Oglethorpe received orders, as military commander in Georgia and the Carolinas, to invade Florida. With his usual energy, he hastened to Charleston to make the necessary preparations. Supplies were voted and a regiment enlisted; and, joined by Indian allies, he set out to lay siege to St. Augustine. He found the garrison much more numerous than he expected, and the fortifications stronger. After a short siege, the Indians began to desert, and the Carolina regiment, enfeebled by sickness, returned home. In five weeks the enterprise was abandoned. On this occasion, Oglethorpe exhibited the kindness of his nature; he endured all the privations of the common soldiers. The captives taken were treated kindly,

1740.

no houses were burned, and but little property destroyed.

This war had a very had effect upon the colony of Georgia. Instead of making farmers of the settlers, it made them soldiers, and their farms were neglected. The Moravians, who were religiously opposed to bearing arms,

emigrated, one and all, to Pennsylvania, where they founded the towns of Bethlehem and Nazareth. CHAP. XVI.

1740. It was ere long the turn of Georgia to be invaded. For this purpose, the Spaniards at Havana and St. Augustine fitted out thirty-six vessels and three thousand 1742. troops. The commander, Monteano, instead of sailing direct for Savannah, became entangled among the islands near the mouths of the St. Mary and the Altamaha, while endeavoring to take possession of one or two insignificant settlements. Oglethorpe ascertained the intention of the enemy, but as he had received no assistance from Carolina, was ill prepared to meet them. Having but eight hundred men, he was forced to retreat from Cumberland July. island to St. Simons, on which was the little town of Frederica, the special object of the Spanish attack.

After the enemy landed he went to surprise them in the night, but as he approached their lines, one of his soldiers, a Frenchman, fired his gun, rushed into the enemy's camp, and gave the alarm. Oglethorpe employed stratagem to throw suspicion upon the deserter; he wrote him a letter, in which he addressed him as a spy for the English, and directed him to induce the Spaniards to attack them, or at least to remain where they were until the English fleet of six men-of-war, which had sailed from Charleston, should reach St. Augustine, and capture it. This letter he bribed a Spanish prisoner to carry to the Frenchman. As was to be expected, it was taken immediately to the Spanish commander, and the Frenchman soon found himself in irons. In the midst of the alarm, some Carolina ships, laden with supplies for Oglethorpe, appeared in the offing. Thinking these the veritable men-of-war mentioned in the letter, the invaders determined to attack and destroy Frederica, before they should sail to defend St. Augustine. On the way they fell into an ambuscade, and, at a place since known as the "Bloody Marsh," they were signally defeated. The following night

CHAP. XVI.

1743. they embarked, and sailed to defend St. Augustine from the expected attack. Thus Georgia and the Carolinas were saved from ruin.

The following year Oglethorpe left the colony forever. There he had spent ten years of toil and self-denial; he had for his reward no personal benefit, but the satisfaction of founding a State, and of leaving it in a prosperous condition. The form of government was changed from a military to a civil rule, and the various magistrates were appointed.

In time, slavery was gradually introduced. Slaves were at first hired from the Carolinas, for a short time, and then for one hundred years. The German settlers were industrious and frugal, and so were the Highlanders. They were opposed to the introduction of slaves. On the other hand, great numbers of the English settlers were idle and bankrupt from their improvidence; "they were unwilling to labor, but were clamorous for privileges to which they had no right." They contended that rum was essential to the health in that climate, and that none but slaves could cultivate the soil of Georgia; and, in seven years after the benevolent Oglethorpe left, slave ships brought negroes to Savannah, direct from Africa.

1750. The trustees, when the twenty-one years for which they were to manage the "colony for the poor" were expired, resigned their trust, and Georgia became a royal

1753. province.

CHAPTER XVII

NEW ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

The Restoration.—The Commissioners.—Progress of Trade.—Causes of King Philip's War.—Death of Wamsutta.—State of the Colony.—Attack at Swanzey.—Philip among the Nipmucks.—Attacks on Northfield, and on Hadley.—Goffe.—The Tragedy at Bloody Brook.—Philip among the Narragansets.—Their Fort captured.—The Warriors take Revenge.—Philip returns to Mount Hope to die.—Disasters of the War.—James II.—The Charters in danger.—Andros Governor; his illegal Measures; takes away the Charter of Rhode Island; not so successful at Hartford.—Andros in Jail.—The Charters resumed.

1660.

THE first intimation of the restoration of Charles II. was brought to New England by two fugitives, Whalley and Goffe. They came branded as regicides, for they sat on the trial of Charles I. They had fled for their lives; ere long came the royal command to deliver them up to their pursures, that they might be taken back to England and there punished. But royal commands and rewards were of no avail, the stern republicans were not betrayed; the people gloried in protecting them.

Rumors were afloat that the governments of all the colonies were to be changed, and that soon armed ships might be expected in the harbor of Boston, sent to enforce the royal authority. After a year's delay, it was thought prudent to proclaim Charles as king. It was done ungraciously, as all manifestations of joy were forbidden.

From time to time intelligence came of the execution of many of their best friends in England; among these were Hugh Peters and Sir Harry Vane: news came also

CHAP. XVII. 1663.

that Episcopacy was again in power, and that more than two thousand clergymen had been driven from their congregations because they would not conform. At length, two agents were sent to conciliate the king, and to make guarded professions of loyalty, as well as to ask permission to make laws against the Quakers.

Connecticut and Rhode Island had both received liberal charters from Charles, the former obtained principally through the influence of the younger Winthrop. Meantime the intolerance of Massachusetts had raised up against her a host of enemies, who were continually whispering their complaints into the royal ear. The alarm was presently increased, by information that commissioners had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the colony. To provide for the future, the charter was, for safe-keeping, secretly given to a committee appointed by the General Court.

When the commissioners came, they outraged the prejudices of the people by having the Episcopal service performed in Boston. The Puritans observed the evening of Saturday as holy time; after the Jewish custom, they commenced their Sabbath at sunset. As if to annoy them, the commissioners habitually spent their Saturday evenings in carousals. They also took in hand to redress grievances, and invited all those who had complaints to make against the Massachusetts colony, to bring them to their knowledge. Rhode Island came with her complaints, and the Narraganset chiefs with theirs; but the General Court cut the matter short, by forbidding such proceedings, as contrary to the charter.

The laws passed by the mother country for the express purpose of crippling the trade of the colonies, could not be enforced, and Boston especially attracted attention by her prosperous commerce. Industry and temperance insured the prosperity of the people, and they increased in riches and in numbers; they also found means to indulge

their taste, and began to embellish their villages. Massachusetts traded not only with the other colonies, but her ships were found in every sea where commerce invited, and not only England traded with her, but France and Spain, Holland and Italy, were competitors for her favors.

For forty years there had been no Indian war in New England; the fate of the Pequods was not forgotten. During this time the number of the Indians had not diminished, while that of the colonists had greatly increased. Their farms had extended in every direction; they gradually absorbed the best lands of the country, and crowded the Indians down on the little bays and peninsulas, on the southern shore of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. This policy was openly avowed, as thereby they could be more easily watched.

The Wampanoags and Narragansets were especially aggrieved. They could not, without great exertion, obtain the means of living; the animals which they hunted, had been nearly all driven away, and they were forced to depend upon fish, and of these they could obtain but a scanty supply, and they had not learned the art of cultivating the soil, but in a very rude manner.

Massasoit, the friend who had welcomed the early Pilgrims, left two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom. Years before their father's death these young men went to Plymouth, where they entered into friendly relations with the English, and received from them the names by which we know them, Alexander and Philip. They were no ordinary men, they seemed to have perceived from the first the dangers that threatened their race. If so, they concealed their impressions, and could never be won over to the religion of the English. When Massasoit died, and Wamsutta became chief sachem of the Wampanoags, the colonists, incited by Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, his bitter enemy, became suspicious of him. As he reposed

CHAP. XVII.

1671. at his hunting lodge with eighty of his followers, he was surprised by Winslow, who had been sent out with an armed force to bring him to the court at Plymouth. Wamsutta thought not of danger; his arms and those of his warriors were outside the lodge and easily secured. When Winslow, with his pistol at his breast, told the astonished chief he must go with him, his proud spirit was roused to bitter indignation. His exasperation threw him into a fever so violent, that he was unable to proceed far. In consequence of his illness he was permitted to return home. "He died on his way. He was carried home on the shoulders of men, and borne to his silent grave near Mount Hope, in the evening of the day, and in the prime of his life, between lines of sad, quick-minded Indians, who well believed him the victim of injustice and ingratitude; for his father had been the ally, not the subject of England, and so was he, and the like indignity had not before been put upon any sachem." *

It is natural to suppose that the untimely and tragical fate of Wamsutta gave character to the latent hostility that existed in the mind of his brother Philip toward the English race. Soon suspicions fell upon him, and at one time he was harshly treated, and compelled to give up his fire-arms. A praying Indian, who lived with Philip, told

1675. the colonists that the Wampanoags entertained some designs against them. There is some doubt as to the truth of this story; however, a short time after this Indian was found murdered. Suspicion fell upon three of Philip's men, who were apprehended by the authorities of Plymouth, and brought to trial; they were pronounced guilty by a jury composed of English and Indians. The execution of these men aroused the slumbering enmity of the tribe. The young warriors were clamorous for war, while the old men dreaded the contest. Philip, from his supe-

* Elliott's Hist. of New England.

rior sagacity, foresaw that an attempt to regain their lands would end in their own destruction.

1675. The colonists could now have warded off the strife by conciliating the Indians. No effort was made to soothe their wounded feelings, they were treated as "bloody heathen," whom it was their duty, as "the chosen of the Lord," to drive out of the land. Avarice, contrary to express law, had been for many years furnishing the savages with fire-arms, and when the contest came, they were far more formidable than the Pequods had been; to conquer them required a great sacrifice of the best blood of the colony.

Though there were settlements more or less extending from Boston to Westfield on the west, and to Northfield in the Connecticut valley on the borders of Vermont, and on the north to Haverhill on the Merrimac, there were vast solitudes, whose secret glens and hiding-places were known only to the Indians. The spirit of the tribes near the settlements was broken by their contact with the superior whites, but Philip had under his control seven hundred brave warriors, who rejoiced in their freedom, and scorned to be the subjects of any white chief beyond the great waters. They not only rejected the religion of the white man, but despised those tribes who had adopted it.

In prospect of the threatened war, a day of fasting and prayer was observed; as the people were returning from church at Swanzey, they were suddenly attacked by a company of Philip's men, and seven or eight persons killed. Philip shed tears when he heard that blood had been shed; the dreaded ruin of his people was drawing near. His tribe, single-handed, entered upon the contest; the others were either the allies of the English or indifferent. He scorned to desert his people, or forfeit his character as a warrior, and he threw himself into the contest with the whole energy of his nature.

June 24.

The war began within the bounds of the Plymouth

CHAP. XVII. 1675. colony; but volunteers hastened to its aid from Massachusetts. The army invaded the territory of the Wampanoags, and in a few weeks Philip, driven from Mount Hope, became a fugitive among the Nipmucks, a tribe in the interior of Massachusetts. After the flight of Philip and his warriors, the little army went into the territory of the Narragansets, and compelled them to promise neutrality, and also to deliver up the fugitive Indians who should flee to them. They fondly hoped the war was at an end; but this was only its beginning.

July 24. The Nipmucks were induced to make common cause with Philip and his tribe. His warriors, partially armed with muskets, prowled round the settlements, ruthlessly murdered the whites, and treated their remains with savage barbarity. The Indians were familiar with the hidden paths of the wilderness; not daring to meet the colonists in open conflict, they watched for opportunities of secret attack. It was not known when or where the storm would burst, and the terror-stricken inhabitants along the frontiers fled to the more thickly settled portions.

Superstition added her terrors. The people saw an Indian bow across the heavens; a scalp appeared on the face of the eclipsed moon; troops of phantom horsemen galloped through the air; the howlings of the wolves were more than usually fearful, and portended some terrible ruin; whizzing bullets were heard in the whistling wind; the northern lights glowed with an unusual glare—the harbinger of the punishment of sin. They began to enumerate their sins; among these were the neglect of the training of children, the using of profane language, the existence of tippling houses, the want of respect for parents, the wearing of long and curled hair by the men, the flaunting of gaudy-colored ribbons by the women; and intolerance whispered that they had been too lenient to the Quakers.

The Nipmucks had fifteen hundred warriors; with

some of these Philip hastened to the valley of the Connecticut, and spread desolation from Springfield, through all the settlements to the farthest town of Northfield. CHAP. XVII. 1675.

An effort was made to win back the Nipmucks to their old allegiance; and Captain Hutchinson, son of Anne Hutchinson, was sent with twenty men to treat with them, but the whole company was waylaid and murdered at Brookfield. That place was burned: the people fled to the strongest house, which was besieged two days, and finally set on fire; but providentially a storm of rain extinguished the flames, and others coming to their assistance, the Indians were driven off. Aug. 2.

The enemy concerted to make their attacks on the same day and hour, in different parts of the country. On the Sabbath, which seems to have been chosen by them as the day most favorable for an attack, they burned Deerfield; and, as the people were worshipping in church, they attacked Hadley. Suddenly there appeared a tall and venerable looking man, with a white flowing beard, who brandished a sword and encouraged and directed the people in the battle. When the savages were driven off, he disappeared; some thought him an angel, specially sent by heaven to their aid. It was Goffe, one of the regicides of whom we have spoken. These regicides had been hunted by zealous royalists from one place of refuge to another; now they were sheltered by the good minister, John Davenport, of New Haven; now by friends at Milford; now they had wandered in the pathless wilderness, and once they had heard the sound of their enemies' horses, as in hot pursuit of them, they crossed the very bridge under which they were secreted; they had rested in a cave on the top of "West Rock," New Haven, known to this day as the "Judge's Cave," and at this time they were living secretly in the house of minister Russell, at Hadley. Thus they passed their remaining years banished from society and from the occupations of life.

CHAP. XVII.

1675. A company of chosen young men, "the flower of the county of Essex," eighty in number, were engaged in bringing the fruits of harvest down from the vicinity of Deerfield to Hadley, where it was proposed to establish a magazine for provisions. They fell into an ambuscade of seven hundred warriors, and, after a desperate encounter, nearly all perished, at the crossing of a little stream, since called the "Bloody Brook."

Sept. 18. Ere long the flourishing settlement of Hatfield was attacked; and the Indians in the vicinity of Springfield were induced to take up arms; but the people were prepared, and repulsed them. Philip returned home, but finding Mount Hope in ruins, he went among the Narragansets. The colonists feared that he would induce them to join him, and in self-defence they resolved to treat them as enemies. The winter, by stripping the trees and bushes of their leaves, had deprived the Indians of their hiding places, and the swamps, their favorite sites for forts, could be passed over when frozen. A company of one thousand men set out to attack their principal fort. This place of defence contained about six hundred wigwams and nearly three thousand of the tribe; warriors with their wives and children, and an abundance of provisions for the winter. They thought themselves secure; they had taken no part in the war.

Oct.

Guided by an Indian traitor, the army marched fifteen miles through a deep snow, and finally arrived at the Narraganset fort, situated near where the village of Kingston in Rhode Island now stands. Their fort, surrounded by a palisade, stood in the midst of a swamp, and was almost inaccessible; it had but one entrance, the narrow passage to which was along the body of a fallen tree. After a severe contest of two hours, the English forced themselves within the fort, and applied the torch to the frail and combustible wigwams. A thousand warriors were slain, and hundreds were made prisoners. Their

Dec. 19.

provisions were all destroyed, and those who escaped were left shelterless in the winter storms. They were forced to dig in the snow for nuts and acorns to sustain life, and great numbers died of exposure and famine before spring. The colonists suffered severely; they lost six captains, and two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded. CHAP. XVII. 1675.

The surviving Narraganset warriors took vengeance; they went from place to place; they massacred, they burned, they destroyed. The settlements in their vicinity were abandoned. Though Rhode Island had not joined in the war, they made no distinction, and Providence was almost destroyed. The now aged Roger Williams felt it his duty to act as captain, in defending the town he had founded. Bands of warriors swept through and through the territory of Plymouth, and the people were only safe when within their forts. Towns in different parts of the country were attacked at the same time; the enemy seemed to be every where.

The majority of the Indians continued to fight; and though they fought without hope, they preferred death to submission. Others quarrelled among themselves, charging one another with being the cause of the war. At length the Nipmucks submitted; and the tribes on the Connecticut, having grown weary of the contest, would shelter Philip no longer. He now appealed, but in vain, to the Mohawks to take up arms. In desperation, he determined to return and die at Mount Hope. When one of his followers proposed to make peace, the indignant chieftain struck him dead at a blow. It was soon noised abroad that Philip had returned to his old home. Benjamin Church, the most energetic of the English captains, surprised his camp, dispersed his followers, and took prisoner his wife and little son. Philip's spirit was now crushed; he exclaimed: "My heart breaks; I am ready to die!" A few days after he was shot by a traitor of his own tribe. His orphan boy was now to be disposed 1676. June. Aug.

CHAP. XVII.

1676.

of. He was taken to Boston; some were in favor of putting him to death, others of selling him into slavery. The latter prevailed, and the last prince of the Wampanoags, the grandson of generous old Massasoit, who had welcomed the Pilgrims, and had given them his friendship, was sent to toil as a slave under the burning sun of Bermuda.

After the close of the war, renewed efforts were made to convert the remaining Indians, but without success. The habits of a people are not easily changed. If those who came in contact with them had set them a Christian example, as did Eliot, and the "learned and gentle" Mayhew, the effect might have been different. The war had completely broken the power of the Indians. The more bold emigrated to Canada, and avenged themselves in after years, by guiding war parties of the French against the English settlements. Some went to the west, and, it is said, their descendants are at this day roaming over its wide prairies. But the great majority lost their native independence, and became still more degraded by marrying with the negroes. At this day, a few descendants of the warriors who once roved over the hills and valleys of New England, may be seen lingering in the land of their fathers.

For a time the effect of the war was disastrous; though it lasted but little more than a year, a dozen villages were in ashes, and others nearly destroyed. Of the private dwellings, a tenth part had been burned, six hundred of the men of the colony had perished in battle, not to mention the women and children ruthlessly massacred. Almost every family was in mourning. The expenses of the war were great, and for years weighed heavily upon the people, while the desolation of the settlements paralyzed their energies.

No aid came to the sufferers from England; but be it remembered, that a Non-conformist church in Dublin sent them five hundred pounds. Instead of aiding them,

the spendthrift Charles devised means to extort money from them by taxing their trade. This led to the establishment of a royal custom-house in Boston. To compel the merchants to pay tribute, he threatened to deprive them of English passes for their ships in the Mediterranean, where, without redress, they might be robbed by pirates along the Barbary coast; and he also threatened to deprive them of their trade with the southern colonies. These threats had little effect upon men who had learned to take care of themselves. CHAP. XVII. 1676.

James II., the brother and successor of Charles, was bigoted and stubborn; a Catholic in disguise, he wished to establish that form of religion, not only in England, but in the colonies. The more easily to accomplish this object he professed to be very tolerant, and proclaimed what he termed an Indulgence, by which persecution for religious opinions was henceforth to end. This tolerance was only a means to evade the laws, which prohibited the introduction of Romish ceremonies and doctrines into the Church of England. He became a bitter persecutor; in truth, to comprehend the idea of the rights of conscience or of religious freedom, was far beyond the capacity of James. That time-serving politician, Joseph Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, who, when it was profitable, was a zealous advocate of colonial rights, now became an earnest defender of the prerogative of the king. He was appointed the royal president of Massachusetts, until a governor should arrive. There could be no free press under a Stuart, and Edward Randolph was appointed its censor. Randolph disliked the people of Massachusetts as cordially as they hated him. The commission of Dudley contained no recognition of an Assembly or Representatives of the people. James was at a loss to see the use of a legislature to make laws, when his wisdom could be appealed to for that purpose. Dudley, looked upon as the betrayer of his country's liberties, was very unpopu- 1685. 1686.

CHAP. XVII. 1686.

lar, while Randolph took pains to have his character as little respected at court, by representing him as having "his fortune to make," and willing to "cringe and bow to any thing."

James had resolved to take away the charters of all the colonies and make them royal provinces. Ere long came Sir Edmund Andros, as governor of all New England. A fit instrument of a despot, he was authorized to impose taxes, to appoint his own council, to have the control of the militia, to prohibit printing, to introduce Episcopacy, and to enforce the laws restricting the trade of the colonies. That he might have the means to fulfil his instructions, he brought two companies of soldiers—the first ever stationed in New England. As a reward for his desertion of the people's rights, Dudley was appointed Chief Justice, and the busy Randolph Colonial Secretary, and William Stoughton, through the influence of Dudley, was named one of the council. Now followed a series of measures exceedingly annoying to the people. Their schools were left to languish. To assemble for deliberation on any public matter was forbidden; but it was graciously permitted them to vote for their town officers. The customs of the country were not respected. The usual form of administering an oath was that of an appeal to heaven by the uplifted hand; the form now prescribed was that of laying the hand on the Bible, which the Puritans thought idolatrous,—a relic of popery. Exorbitant fees were extorted; those who held lands were told their titles were not valid, because they were obtained under a charter which was now declared to be forfeited; and when an Indian deed was presented, it was decided to be "worth no more than the scratch of a bear's paw." No person could leave the colony without a pass from the governor. No magistrate nor minister—who was deemed merely a layman—could unite persons in marriage. The Episcopal clergyman at Boston was the only person in

all New England authorized to perform that ceremony. CHAP. XVII.
Episcopacy was now fully introduced, and the people 1686.
required to furnish funds to build a church for its service. A tax of the same amount was levied upon each person, poor or rich; this some of the towns refused to pay. John Wise, the minister of Ipswich, was bold to say the tax was unjust, and ought not to be paid. For this he was arrested. When he spoke of his privileges as an Englishman, he was told the only privilege he could claim was not to be sold as a slave; with others, he was fined heavily. When it was said that such proceedings would affect the prosperity of the country, it was openly avowed that "it was not for his majesty's interest that the country should thrive." "No man could say that any thing was his own."

Andros now demanded of Rhode Island her charter, but as she did not send it, he went to Providence, and breaking the seal of the colony declared its government dissolved. He then went with an armed guard to Hart- 1687.
ford, and demanded the charter of the colony of Connecticut. The Assembly was in session. The members received him with outward respect. The discussion of the subject was protracted till evening, and when candles were lighted, the charter was brought in and laid on the table. As the eager Andros reached forth his hand to seize the precious document, the lights were suddenly put out; when they were relighted, the charter was gone. Captain William Wadsworth had slipped it away and hid it in a hollow tree. Andros, foiled and in a rage, resolved, charter or no charter, the present government should [1856.
cease, and taking the book of records of the Assembly, he wrote at the end of the last record the word FINIS. The tree in which the charter was hid stood for more than a century and a half, and was visited as an object of historical interest. It was known as the Charter Oak. A few years since it was blown down in a violent storm. Some time before, a lady of Hartford gathered from it an

CHAP. XVII.

1687. acorn, which she planted. The good citizens of that place obtained from her the young oak, and with appropriate ceremonies planted it on the spot where stood the parent tree.

Happily the tyranny of Andros was soon to end. James, in his zeal to promote the introduction of the Catholic religion, had aroused against him the entire English people. They invited William, Prince of Orange, the husband of Mary, the eldest daughter of James, to take possession of the throne. After finding that his despotic measures and insincerity had lost him his kingdom, James fled, and the Prince of Orange, under the title of WILLIAM III., ascended his vacant throne.

1688. Nov. 5. When the news of that great revolution, which established the constitutional rights of the English people, reached Boston, it excited the greatest joy; now they could rid themselves of the tyrant. Andros imprisoned the messenger for spreading false news. The trained bands soon assembled in arms. The craven and guilty governor, bewildered with fear, fled, with his servile council, to a fort in the town. The aged Simon Bradstreet, now more than fourscore, who was one of the original emigrants, and had been a magistrate, was urged to assume the office of governor.

A declaration, said to have been written by Cotton Mather, was published, maintaining the rights of the people, in which they commit the enterprise to "Him who hears the cry of the oppressed." Andros, in the mean time, made an effort to escape; but he and Dudley, with the troublesome Randolph, were speedily lodged in jail. Many were clamorous for their punishment, but generous forbearance prevailed, and they were sent to England for trial.

Connecticut, paying little respect to the "Finis" of Andros, now brought forth her charter from its hidden place, and resumed her former government. Plymouth

resumed the constitution framed on board the May-Flower, and Rhode Island her charter. The people of Massachusetts voted almost unanimously to resume theirs, but a moderate party, consisting of the former magistrates, and some of the principal inhabitants, chose rather to defer it for the present; as they hoped to obtain one from William, more in accordance with their own views.

The patriarchs who laid the foundation of the New England colonies had nearly all passed away; their places were filled by those who had not experienced the trials of their fathers, but had learned of them by tradition. The Puritans lived in serious times—times that made rugged Christians as well as rugged soldiers. They may have lacked the gentler graces that adorn those living almost two centuries later, and enjoying greater privileges, when the combined influence of Christianity, science, and refinement have produced a more perfect effect. They conscientiously filled their sphere of duty in the age in which they lived, and we honor their memories.

The influence of their ministers was the influence of mind upon mind, enhanced by that implicit trust reposed in moral worth. They were peculiarly the educated class; the people looked up to them as their spiritual instructors. They were the friends of education, and wished to elevate the children of their flocks by cultivating their minds, and training them for usefulness in the world;—what higher position for his children could the Puritan desire? In process of time, New England became more inviting to men of education belonging to the professions of law and medicine. In some respects, the great influence of the ministers gradually diminished, not because of dereliction of duty on their part, but because, in temporal affairs, especially, the management passed, by degrees, into the hands of other men of influence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COMMOTION IN NEW YORK.—WITCHCRAFT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Leisler acting Governor of New York.—The Old Council refuses to yield.—Captain Ingoldsby.—Sloughter Governor.—Bitterness of Parties.—Trial and Execution of Leisler and Milbourne.—Death of Sloughter.—Fletcher Governor; he goes to Connecticut.—Yale College.—The Triumph of a Free Press.—Witchcraft; belief in.—Cotton Mather.—The Goodwin Children.—Various Persons accused at Salem.—Special Court.—Parris as Accuser, and Stoughton as Judge.—Minister Burroughs.—Calef's Pamphlet.—Revulsion in Public Sentiment.—Mather's stand in favor of Inoculation.

CHAP. XVIII.

1690.

DIFFICULTIES with royal governors were by no means confined to New England. The people of New York were also in commotion, though not so much united, as the Dutch had not yet cordially associated in feeling with the English.

James had appointed a Catholic receiver of customs; this annoyed the Protestants, and Nicholson the governor was exceedingly unpopular. The military companies went in a body to Jacob Leisler, a respectable and generous-hearted merchant, and their senior captain, and urged him to take possession of the fort and to assume the management of affairs. He consented. Leisler, a Presbyterian and a Dutchman, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Prince of Orange. The fort and public money were taken, and the companies pledged themselves to hold the fort "for the present Protestant power that rules in England." Leisler was to act as commander in-chief until orders came from King William, to whom a letter was sent giving an account of the seizure of the fort

1689. June 1.

and also of the money, which was to be expended in building another at the lower part of the island, to defend the harbor. CHAP. XVIII. 1689.

As a large majority of the people were in favor of Leisler and of the proceedings of the militia, Nicholson, the governor, thought best to carry his complaints to England. The members of his council, claiming to be the true rulers of the province, went to Albany, and denounced Leisler as a "rebel." Aug.

He appointed Milbourne, his son-in-law, secretary. Afterward, the people at Albany, alarmed on account of an expected attack from Canada, asked aid from New York; Milbourne was promptly sent with a body of men to their assistance. But the members of the old council refused to acknowledge his authority, or to give him the command of the fort. To avoid bloodshed he returned, leaving them to fight the French as they could. In their extremity, the Albanians obtained assistance from Connecticut. Presently came a royal letter, directed to "such as for the time being administer affairs." It contained a commission for Nicholson as governor. As the latter was on his way to England, Leisler injudiciously proclaimed himself governor by virtue of the letter, and still more imprudently ordered the members of the refractory council at Albany to be arrested. Meantime an Assembly was called to provide for the wants of the province. Dec.

The letter sent to the king remained unanswered, but suddenly an English ship came into the harbor, having on board a Captain Ingoldsby, and a company of soldiers sent by Colonel Henry Sloughter, who had been appointed governor. Encouraged by the party opposed to Leisler, Ingoldsby demanded the surrender of the fort. He was asked his authority; as he had none to show the fort was not given up. Six weeks elapsed before Sloughter made his appearance; meanwhile, a collision took place between the soldiers and some of the people, and blood 1691. Jan. 30.

CHAP. XVIII.

1691.

was shed. The bitterest party spirit prevailed; the enemies of Leisler resolved on revenge; and when he came forward to resign his trust to the regularly appointed governor, he was arrested, and with Milbourne taken to

Mar. 19.

prison. The charge against them was the convenient one of treason; their enemies knew that they were as loyal as themselves, but it answered their purpose. Immediately a special court was called to try the prisoners. They denied the right of a court thus constituted to try them, and refused to plead, but appealed to the king. They were, however, condemned, and sentenced to death by the degenerate Dudley, who, driven away by the indignant people of Massachusetts, now appeared as Chief Justice of New York.

Sloughter was unwilling to order their execution, and he determined to leave the matter to the king. But their blood, and it alone, could satisfy the intense hatred of their enemies. To accomplish their end they took advantage of one of the numerous failings of the governor. They gave him a dinner-party; when overcome by a free indulgence in wine, they induced him to sign the death-warrant of the unfortunate men. About daylight the next morning, lest Sloughter should recover from his stupor and recall the warrant, Leisler and Milbourne were hurried from their weeping families to the gallows. It was whispered abroad, and although the rain poured in torrents, the sympathizing people hastened in multitudes

May 16.

to the place of execution. Said Milbourne, when he saw in the crowd one of their enemies, "Robert Livingston, I will implead thee for this at the bar of God." The last words of Leisler were: "Weep not for us, who are departing to our God." Said Milbourne, "I die for the king and queen, and for the Protestant religion; Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." When the execution was over, the people rushed forward to obtain some memorial of their friends—a lock of hair, or a piece of their

clothing. This judicial murder increased the bitterness of party animosity. The friends of the victims were the advocates of popular rights, in opposition to the royalists. All that could be was done in time to remedy the wrong. Their estates were restored to their families, and Parliament reversed the attainder under the charge of treason. Dudley even opposed this act of justice. Three months after this tragedy, delirium tremens ended the life of the weak and dissolute Sloughter. It was about this time that the "ancient Dutch usages" gave place to the complete introduction of English laws. CHAP. XVIII. 1691.

A year had elapsed, when Benjamin Fletcher came as successor to Sloughter. He was a military officer, arbitrary and avaricious. His sympathies were with the enemies of Leisler. As New York was on the frontiers of Canada, all the colonies were expected to contribute to her defence. To make this more effective, an effort was made to put the militia of New Jersey and Connecticut, as well as that of New York, under the command of Fletcher. Accordingly, he went into Connecticut to enforce his authority. To give the command of their militia to the governor of another colony, was to sacrifice the rights of the people under the charter. The Assembly was in session at Hartford, and the militia engaged in training when Fletcher arrived. He had boasted that he "would not set foot out of the colony until he was obeyed." When the militia was drawn up, he ordered his secretary to read in their hearing his commission. When he commenced to read, the drummers began to beat. "Silence," commanded Fletcher. For a moment there was a silence, and the reading was renewed. "Drum! drum!" ordered Wadsworth, the same who, some years before, hid the charter. Fletcher once more ordered silence. The sturdy captain, stepping up to him, significantly remarked, "If I am interrupted again I will make daylight shine through you." Fletcher thought it 1692. 1693.

CHAP. XVIII.

best to overlook the insult and return to New York, without accomplishing his threat.

1693. More than half a century before, the Rev. John Davenport proposed to found a college in the colony of Connecticut, but as Harvard would be affected by the establishment of a similar institution, the project was postponed. Now, the ministers of the colony met at Branford, where each one laid upon the table his gift of books, accompanied by the declaration, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." Forty volumes were thus contributed. How little did these good men, as they made their humble offerings, anticipate the importance and influence of the college of which they

1701. thus laid the foundation.

The following year the General Court granted a charter. The professed object of the college was to promote theological studies in particular, but afterward so modified as to admit of "instructing youth in the arts and sciences, who may be fitted for public employments, both in church and civil state." For sixteen years, its sessions were held at different places; then it was permanently located at New Haven. A native of the town, Elihu Yale, who had acquired wealth in the East Indies, became its benefactor, and in return he has been immortalized in its name.

For forty years succeeding the rule of Fletcher the annals of New York are comparatively barren of incident; during that time the province enjoyed the doubtful privilege of having ten governors, nearly all of whom took special care of their own interests and those of their friends. The last of this number was the "violent and mercenary" William Cosby, who complained to the Board of Trade that he could not manage the "delegates" to the Assembly;—"the example of Boston people" had so much infected them.

The city of New York, at this time, contained nearly

nine thousand inhabitants. The *Weekly Journal*, a paper recently established by John Peter Zenger, contained articles condemning the arbitrary acts of the governor and Assembly, in imposing illegal taxes. This was the first time in the colonies the newspapers had dared to criticize political measures. This new enemy of arbitrary power must be crushed. Governor Cosby, with the approbation of the council, ordered the paper to be burned by the sheriff, imprisoned the editor, and prosecuted him for libel. Zenger employed as counsel two lawyers, and they denied the authority of the court, because of the illegal appointment of the Chief Justice, Delancy, by Cosby, without the consent of the Council. For presenting this objection, their names were promptly struck from the roll of practitioners. This high-handed measure intimidated the other lawyers, and deterred them from acting as counsel for the fearless editor. 1732.

1733.

On the day of trial, a venerable man, a stranger to nearly all present, took his seat at the bar. The trial commenced, and much to the surprise of the court, the stranger announced himself as counsel for the defendant. It was Andrew Hamilton, the famous Quaker lawyer of Philadelphia, and speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Hamilton proposed to prove the truth of the alleged libel, but Delancy, the judge, in accordance with English precedents, refused to admit the plea. Then Hamilton, with great force, appealed to the personal knowledge of the jury;—the statements in the paper were notoriously true. He showed that the cause was not limited to this editor alone; a principle was involved, that affected the liberty of speech and a free press throughout the colonies.

In spite of the charge of the judge to the contrary, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal, which was received with rapturous shouts by the people. Thus, for the first time, had the press assumed to discuss, and even

CHAP. XVIII.

1733. condemn political measures, and its liberty to do so was amply vindicated. This was thirty-seven years before the same principle was established in England by the decision in the trial for libel brought against the publisher of the famous letters of Junius.

1684. We have now to relate the story of that sad delusion so identified with the early history of the quiet and respectable town of Salem, in Massachusetts. The belief in witchcraft appears to have been almost universal in the age of which we write. As Christians were in covenant with God, so, it was believed, witches were in covenant with the devil; that he gave them power to torment those whom they hated, by pinching them, pricking them with invisible pins, pulling their hair, causing their cattle and chickens to die, upsetting their carts, and by many other annoyances, equally undignified and disagreeable. As Christians had a sacrament or communion, witches had a communion, also, at which the devil himself officiated in the form of a "small black man." He had a book in which his disciples signed their names, after which they renounced their Christian baptism, and were rebaptized, or "dipped" by himself. To their places of meeting the witches usually rode through the air on broomsticks.

This delusion, absurd as it seems to be, was in that age believed by learned and good men, such as Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of England; Richard Baxter, author of the "Saints' Rest;" and Dr. Isaac Watts, whose devotional "Psalms and Hymns" are so familiar to the religious world. For this supposed crime many had, at different times, been executed in Sweden, England, France, and other countries of Europe. Before the excitement at Salem, a few cases in the colony of Massachusetts had been punished with death.

As the Bible made mention of witches and sorcerers, —to disbelieve in their existence was counted infidelity. To disprove such infidelity, Increase Mather, a celebrated

clergyman of New England, published an account of the cases that had occurred there, and also a description of the manner in which the bewitched persons were afflicted. After this publication, the first case that excited general interest was that of a girl named Goodwin. She had accused the daughter of an Irish washerwoman of stealing some article of clothing. The enraged mother disproved the charge, and in addition reproved the false accuser severely. Soon after, this girl became strangely affected; her younger brother and sister imitated her "contortions and twistings." These children were sometimes dumb, then deaf, then blind; at one time they would bark like dogs, at another mew like cats. A physician was called in, who gravely decided that they were bewitched, as they had many of the symptoms described in Mather's book. The ministers became deeply interested in the subject, and five of them held a day of fasting and prayer at the house of the Goodwins, when lo! the youngest child, a boy of five years of age, was delivered! As the children asserted that they were bewitched by the Irish washerwoman, she was arrested. The poor creature was frightened out of her senses, if she had any, for many thought she was "crazed in her intellectuals." She was, however, tried, convicted and hanged.

CHAP. XVIII.

1684.

1688.

There was at this time at Boston a young clergyman, an indefatigable student, remarkable for his memory and for the immense amount of verbal knowledge he possessed; he was withal somewhat vain and credulous, and exceedingly fond of the marvellous; no theory seems to have been more deeply rooted in his mind than a belief in witchcraft. Such was Cotton Mather, son of Increase Mather. He became deeply interested in the case of the Goodwin children, and began to study the subject with renewed zeal; to do so the more perfectly, he took the girl to his home. She was cunning, and soon discovered the weak points of his character. She told him he was

CHAP. XVIII.

1688. under a special protection; that devils, though they tried hard, could not enter his study; that they could not strike him; the blows were warded off by an invisible, friendly hand. When he prayed, or read the Bible, she would be thrown into convulsions; while at the same time, she read with zest Popish or Quaker books, or the Book of Common Prayer. Mather uttered prayers in a variety of languages to ascertain if these wicked spirits were learned. He discovered that they were skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but deficient in some Indian tongues. He sincerely believed all this, and wrote a book, "a story all made up of wonders," to prove the truth of witchcraft; and gave out that, hereafter, if any one should deny its existence, he should consider it a personal insult. Mather's book was republished in London, with an approving preface written by Richard Baxter. This book had its influence upon the minds of the people, and prepared the way for the sad scenes which followed.

About four years after the cases just mentioned, two young girls, one the niece and the other the daughter of Samuel Parris, the minister at Salem village, now Danvers, began to exhibit the usual signs of being bewitched. They seem to have done this at first merely for mischief, as they accused no one until compelled.

1692. Between Parris and some of the members of his congregation there existed much ill-feeling. Now was the time to be revenged! And this "beginner and procurer of the sore affliction to Salem village and country," insisted that his niece should tell who it was that bewitched her, for in spite of all the efforts to "deliver" them, the children continued to practise their pranks. The niece at length accused Rebecca Nurse, a woman of exemplary and Christian life; but one with whom Parris was at variance. At his instigation she was hurried off to jail. The next Sabbath he announced as his text these words: "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a

devil?" Immediately Sarah Cloyce, a sister of the accused, arose and left the church,—in those days, no small offence. She too was accused and sent to prison. The excitement spread, and in a few weeks nearly a hundred were accused, and remanded for trial. CHAP. XVIII. 1692.

After the people had driven off Andros, Bradstreet had still continued to act as governor. A new charter was given, under which the governor was to be appointed by the crown. Sir William Phipps, a native of New England, "an illiterate man, of violent temper, with more of energy than ability," was the first governor, and William Stoughton the deputy-governor. These both obtained their offices through the influence of Increase Mather, who was then in England, acting as agent for the colony. Stoughton had been the friend of Andros, and a member of his council, and, like Dudley, was looked upon by the people as their enemy. Of a proud and unforgiving temper, devoid of humane feelings, he was self-willed and selfish. The people in a recent election had slighted him; they scarcely gave him a vote for the office of judge; this deeply wounded his pride. In his opinions, as to spirits and witches, he was an implicit follower of Cotton Mather, of whose church he was a member. 1691.

The new governor, bringing with him the new charter, arrived at Boston on the fourteenth of May. The General Court alone had authority to appoint Special Courts; but the governor's first official act was to appoint one to try the witches confined in prison at Salem. The triumph of Mather was complete; he rejoiced that the warfare with the spirits of darkness was now to be carried on vigorously, and he "prayed for a good issue." 1692. May 14.

The illegal court met, and Parris acted as prosecutor, producing some witnesses and keeping back others. The prisoners were made to stand with their arms extended, lest they should torment their victims. The glance of the witch's eye was terrible to the "afflicted;" for its evil

CHAP. XVIII. 1692.

influence there was but one remedy; the touch of the accused could alone remove the charm. Abigail Williams, the niece of Parris, was told to touch one of the prisoners; she made the attempt, but desisted, screaming out, "My fingers, they burn, they burn!" She was an adept in testifying; she had been asked to sign the devil's book by the spectre of one of the accused women, and she had also been permitted to see a witch's sacrament. All this was accepted by the court as true and proper evidence. If a witness contradicted himself, it was explained by assuming that the evil spirit had imposed upon his brain. A farmer had a servant, who suddenly became bewitched; his master whipped him, and thus exorcised the devil, and had the rashness to say that he could cure any of "the afflicted" by the same process. For this he soon found himself and wife in prison. Remarks made by the prisoners were often construed to their disadvantage. George Burroughs, once a minister at Salem, and of whom it is said Parris was envious, had expressed his disbelief in witchcraft, and pronounced the whole affair a delusion. For this he was arrested as a wizard. On his trial the witnesses pretended to be dumb. "Why," asked the stern Stoughton of the prisoner, "are these witnesses dumb?" Burroughs believed they were perjuring themselves, and promptly answered, "The devil is in them, I suppose." "Ah! ah!" said the exulting judge; "how is it that he is so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" This decided the case; Burroughs was condemned. From the scaffold he made an address to the people, and put his enemies to shame. He did what it was believed no witch could do; he repeated the Lord's Prayer distinctly and perfectly. The crowd was strongly impressed in his favor; many believed him innocent, and many were moved even to tears, and some seemed disposed to rescue him; but Cotton Mather appeared on horseback, and harangued the crowd, maintaining that

Burroughs was not a true minister, that he had not been ordained, that the fair show he made was no proof of his innocence, for Satan himself sometimes appeared as an angel of light. CHAP. XVIII. 1692.

Many of the accused confessed they were witches, and by that means purchased their lives; and some, to make their own safety doubly sure, accused others: thus the delusion continued. Then, again, others who had confessed, repented that they had acknowledged themselves to be what they were not, denied their confession, and died with the rest. The accusations were at first made against those in the humbler walks of life; now others were accused. Hale, the minister at Beverly, was a believer in witchcraft, till his own wife was accused; then he was convinced it was all a delusion.

Some months elapsed before the General Court held its regular session; in the mean time twenty persons had fallen victims, and fifty more were in prison with the same fate hanging over them. Now a great revulsion took place in public opinion. This was brought about by a citizen of Boston, Robert Calef, who wrote a pamphlet, first circulated in manuscript. He exposed the manner in which the trials had been conducted, as well as proved the absurdity of witchcraft itself. Cotton Mather, in his reply, sneered at Calef as "a weaver who pretended to be a merchant." Calef, not intimidated by this abuse, continued to write with great effect, and presently the book was published in London. Increase Mather, the President of Harvard College, to avenge his son, had the "weaver's" book publicly burned in the college yard.

In the first case brought before the court, the jury promptly brought in a verdict of not guilty. When news came to Salem of the reprieve of those under sentence, the fanatical Stoughton, in a rage, left the bench, exclaiming, "Who is it that obstructs the course of justice I know not; the Lord have mercy on the country."

Not long after, the indignant inhabitants of Salem Jan., 1693.

CHAP. XVIII.

drove Parris from their village. Many of those who had participated in the delusion, and given their influence in
1693. favor of extreme measures, deeply repented and publicly asked forgiveness of their fellow-citizens. But Cotton Mather expressed no regret for the part he had taken, or the influence he exerted in increasing the delusion; his vanity never would admit that he could possibly have been in error. Instead of being humbled on account of the sorrows he had brought upon innocent persons, he labored to convince the world that, after all, he had not been so very active in promoting the delusion. Stoughton passed the remainder of his days the same cold, proud, and heartless man; nor did he ever manifest the least sorrow, that on such trifling and contradictory evidence, he had sentenced to death some of the best of men and women.

It is a pleasure to record that, thirty years after this melancholy delusion, Cotton Mather, with fearless energy advocated the use of inoculation for the prevention of
1721. small-pox. He had learned that it was successful in Turkey, in arresting or modifying that terrible disease, and he persuaded Dr. Boylston to make the experiment. Mather stood firm, amid the clamors of the ignorant mob, who even threw a lighted grenade filled with combustibles into his house, and paraded the streets of Boston, with halters in their hands, threatening to hang the inoculators. The majority of the physicians opposed inoculation on theological grounds, contending, "it was presumptuous for men to inflict disease on man, that being the prerogative of the Most High." "It was denounced as an infusion of malignity into the blood; a species of poisoning; an attempt to thwart God, who had sent the small-pox as a punishment for sins, and whose vengeance would thus be only provoked the more." Nearly all the ministers were in favor of the system, and they replied with arguments drawn from medical science. An embittered

war of pamphlets ensued. The town authorities took decided ground against the innovation, while the General Court passed a bill prohibiting the practice, but the Council wisely refused to give it their sanction. At length science and common sense prevailed, and the inoculists completely triumphed. CHAP. XVIII. 1721.

Much has been said and written, more or less justly, in condemnation of these strange proceedings; however, from this time forth the belief in witchcraft began to wane in New England, and the civil authorities noticed it no more. In justice to the misguided actors in this sad tragedy it ought to be remembered that for half a century afterward, the law of the mother country, as it always had done, still made witchcraft a capital crime; and within thirty years after these terrible scenes in Salem, persons accused of witchcraft were condemned and put to death, both in England and in Scotland; in the former a mother and her daughter—*nine years old*— perished together on the same scaffold; in the latter, six years afterward, an old woman was burned as a witch; and even Blackstone, when writing on the laws of England in the latter half of the eighteenth century, deems witchcraft a crime. 1716.

No one of these persons at Salem suffered by that barbarous form of execution—burning; nor were they put to the rack and torture. What a tribute it is to the integrity of these twenty victims that they refused to stain their souls with the crime of falsehood, "and went to the gallows rather than soil their consciences by the lie of confession."[1] For if they confessed themselves to be witches, "and promised blameless lives for the future, they were uniformly pardoned."

The seven magistrates composing this illegal court held at Salem were evidently sincere in the performance

[1]Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. IV., p. 133.

CHAP. XVIII. 1716. of their official duties, yet the sternness of Stoughton, the chief judge, seems to savor of fanaticism, as shown in his permitting the trials to be hurried through without proper deliberation; had they been postponed to the regular meeting of the General Court, some months distant, the issue, no doubt, would have been far different. The magistrates in Plymouth County were more enlightened, for when, many years previous to this time, two 1660. prosecutions for witchcraft having been brought before them, the accused were declared not guilty.

Notwithstanding this mistaken zeal in punishing imaginary crime, it is but justice to notice that the penal laws enacted by the Puritans of New England were in their humane characteristics far in advance of those of the same period in Europe, especially in England, with which the comparison may be more properly made. Even down to 1819 there were in England two hundred and twenty-three offences punishable with death, while From 1641 to 1646. in the very first formation of the government in the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, the crimes punished capitally were limited to *seventeen*, and some of these with express reservations, "leaving the exaction of the supreme penalty to the discretion of the court." "Larceny above the value of twelve pence was a capital crime in England;" also, "to kill a deer in the king's forest, or to export sheep from the kingdom." It is but just to compare the laws enacted in these colonies with the contemporary ones in the Motherland, and not with those of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The marvel is that, coming from a country where such barbarous laws were in force, the colonists had the moral power to rise above the prejudices and brutalities of the age, and frame penal laws so much more humane. It may serve as an explanation that the Puritans of New England fell back upon the code of Moses as a model, deeming that to be an embodiment of the law of God for

His people; sometimes forgetting, however, that these laws did not fully apply in the seventeenth century of the Christian era.

In the recognition of human rights these colonial law-givers were far in advance of the contemporary legislators of Europe. With the former it was a cardinal principle to give every citizen a chance to improve his temporal affairs by industry and economy, and to educate his children. Their settlements, in accordance with the law, were originally arranged so that each member of the community had an interest in its affairs by his becoming a landholder, and a participant in the councils of the Town Meetings, and indirectly in those of the colony at large, through representatives elected by the aid of his vote. The farms were so laid out that their length greatly exceeded their breadth, and each farmer could thus have his house near a neighbor; usually their dwellings were built on a single street, the farms running back, while the church and school-house were so located as to be accessible to all. This plan of laying out settlements, though at first enjoined by the civil authorities, was afterward, because of its utility, adopted in numerous instances by the people themselves. This system accounts for the greater number of villages in the colonies of New England in proportion to their extent of territory than are in the Middle, and still more in the Southern, colonies.

Another division, the *township* or *town* as it was usually termed, was a district marked off of convenient size, to enable the male inhabitants to attend the town meetings, which were held at a point known as the "Centre," in which meetings measures pertaining to the well-being of the people were discussed and voted upon—such as related to schools, the highways, the district taxes, etc. Under these conditions all the residents became interested in the local affairs of the community. The transition was natural and easy for citizens thus trained to manifest

CHAP. XVIII.

a similar interest in the general prosperity of the colony, and its relations with the Home Government. In consequence of this political schooling, we find that on the great questions which came up a hundred years later, these "citizens of the common folk" were remarkably well informed, and the sentiments of the most intelligent patriots of that period found in their minds a ready response. For the times, this kind of information was therefore extensively diffused by the intercourse between citizens, as well as by means of printing; for in the earlier days that medium was often used by leading minds to express their views upon current topics of interest. The printing-press was specially utilized in the issue of short publications in the form of pamphlets in discussing questions of local interest; among these theology held a prominent place. These wars of pamphlets were terrible of their kind. The mass of the people were not then far enough advanced in literary attainments to sustain newspapers, as they were known even a century later, but on religious topics and on political subjects they were wide awake. These short publications, so often controversial, served their purpose, and in their way influenced the most enlightened minds, and they in turn those with whom they came in personal contact.

The system of landholding [1] and town meetings cultivated the self-respect of every citizen, and dignified the most humble with the consciousness that he was a member of the community, and in the direction of its affairs the influence he might have he was at liberty to exercise.

This was the outgrowth of the democratic principle which found its expression for the first time on this side of the world in the cabin of the May-Flower.[2] The system of dividing counties into towns or townships prevailed, also, in the other colonies that afterward became

[1] History, p. 105. [2] History, p. 99.

free states, and in them, likewise, the minor local affairs were managed by the citizens in township meetings; but not to the same extent they were in New England, because the people were not so homogeneous, there being a large proportion that were not of Anglo-Saxon descent, neither were they so harmonious nor so far advanced in their political views. In these colonies and states, however, the people elected their own civil officers, while in the southern they were nearly all appointed by the Governors, Legislatures, or County Courts. This latter custom, together with the restrictions on suffrage, greatly diminished the independence of the individual; for, instead of the power being lodged with the people themselves, it was exercised by a self-constituted oligarchy.

From 1688 to 1763.

During the three-quarters of a century immediately succeeding the great Revolution in England the principles—religious and political—which the colonists had adopted as their rule of conduct, exerted a free and benign influence; consequently their progress, under the circumstances, was very great. This revolution secured so much for the religious liberties of the English people, that afterward when any emigrated to the colonies, it was not on account of religious disabilities, but to better their material interests. Among those who came during this period were companies of Protestants, such as the Presbyterians [1] from Scotland, the Scotch-Irish from the north of Ireland, Huguenots from France, and Lutherans from Germany. These immigrants exerted a healthy influence on the country, in promoting its material prosperity by their industry and economy, and in coalescing with the colonists in their educational and religious matters. They blended easily with the people, and became thoroughly assimilated in less than two generations.

As New England and Virginia were populous and

[1] History, 163, 172, 175, 179, 193.

CHAP. XVIII.

From 1676 and 1684 to 1860.

important colonies, they became centers of influences that produced certain results during the six generations [1] following the witchcraft excitement in the one, and the attempt under Bacon [2] to vindicate the rights of the people in the other.

In the Virginia colony the distribution of the territory was radically different from that in New England. In the former were large undivided counties, instead of the districts of convenient size in the latter in order to maintain schools and churches, thus making compact settlements of land-owners independent and self-respecting. Lands in Virginia were frequently given by the crown to court favorites [3] in immense grants, and on these were to be located tenants; the effect upon these tenants was not to cherish independence of character, but the reverse. In consequence of this system of royal grants farms of moderate size became the exceptions; the tendency was for the rich to own lands in very large estates, thus widely separating the homes of the inhabitants. The poor or small farmers gradually withdrew from the fertile lands of the main settlements to districts more sterile, and being deprived of the appropriate means to educate their children, they made little improvement from generation to generation. None but landholders were permitted to vote, and, as far as known, none but that class were elected legislators, thus laying the foundation for a landed aristocracy modeled after that of England; to this class was added another element of aggrandizement—the system of slavery. From this time forward there was more importance attached to wealth in landed estates and slaves than in any other form. As "only freeholders could vote for members of the house of burgesses," so it came to pass, in process of time, that none but slave-owners were elected to office.

[1] History, pp. 858–860. [2] History, pp. 139–144.
[3] History, pp. 141–143.

In respect to education, the spirit of Berkeley seemed to brood over successive Virginia legislatures; during one hundred and ninety years after his time neither as a colony nor as a state did they establish schools where *all* the children could be educated, while it required more than half a century to prepare the aristocracy for the innovation of a printing-press. The "poor whites" in Virginia never recovered from the blow they received at the failure of their uprising under Bacon; twenty of their most progressive and patriotic men perished on the scaffold by order of the inhuman Berkeley, and from that time forward they made little progress.[1] This influence extended gradually south from Virginia to the Carolinas and Georgia, where the same system prevailed of large tracts of the best lands being cultivated by slaves, and with the usual result of driving the "poor whites" back to the unfertile districts. In these colonies, and afterward when states, no schools were established to educate *all* the children.

Meanwhile the influence of slavery grew stronger and stronger; manual labor for a white man became a badge of degradation, which attached itself to him and to his children. There is no sadder story in our history than is revealed in the inner life of the "poor whites" of the South during these two centuries. They made but little progress. They cultivated sterile fields merely to eke out a scanty subsistence; as to manufactures, they were only by hand, and of the crudest kind, to supply their domestic wants; in the main, the great mass making little advance in education or in mental improvement. This may account for the fact that so limited a number of that class rose above their condition in times of great trial, as in the days of the Revolution, when, comparatively, very few of them displayed talents of a high order. The most promi-

[1] Lodge's History of the Colonies; Virginia, p. 21, and onward.

CHAP. XVIII.

From 1676 to 1861.

nent of these was Daniel Morgan.[1] When their youth came to manhood they were cramped by lack of education.

Another effectual cause of hindering the political progress of the mechanic or farmer of limited means, was the manner in which civil affairs were conducted. In the large counties of these colonies and states, the Court-House was located near the center, and to meet at "The Court" became the practice of the aristocracy, there to see their compeers from all parts of the county: this custom passed over from colonial times to be more fully carried out in the States. In these meetings they discussed measures in relation to the interests of the county as well as general politics. The nominal citizen not owning land had no vote, and therefore he took little or no interest in these county gatherings, and the distinction became still more clear, so that he who owned a small farm and no slaves, felt ill at ease in an assembly where mere wealth in land and slaves exerted so much influence. It was the landed aristocracy who held office under colonial governors, and who were their accepted advisers; at the South, from this class alone came the enlightened patriots of the Revolution; none scarcely from the ranks of manual labor or small farmers. The intercourse between the rich land- and slave-owners and their poorer neighbors was characterized by an obsequiousness on the part of the latter totally unknown in the northern colonies; in them the value of knowledge and moral excellence was more clearly estimated, while that of mere wealth was reckoned only secondary in the social position of the individual.

Of the middle colonies during this period the most advanced in literary culture was Pennsylvania. Though she had no public schools in a wide sense, yet under the influence of the French her private ones, were the best of their kind. Then came a large emigration of Germans[2]

[1] History, p. 380; also, Serjeant Jasper, p. 406.
[2] History, pp. 170–174.

who became famous as farmers, but unfortunately not so famous for the interest they took in education. The contrast between them in this respect and the Friends and Presbyterians[1] was very striking. In New Jersey the schools were private, none were public; but the Presbyterian element[1] moulded the minds of the youth, by instilling the truths of the Bible as they deemed them summarized in their catechism; through their influence Princeton college was founded. The same in respect to private schools may be said of the Dutch of New York In this colony, however, occurred the first instance in the English-speaking world of a trial in court in which the freedom[2] of the press was fully established, and has remained so from that day to this. 1710.

When newspapers were first printed in the seventeenth century the arbitrary colonial governments suppressed them without hesitation if they contained anything these gentlemen did not relish. The first newspaper published in the colonies—"The Public Occurrences"—was at Boston; it was simply a printed narrative of events, instead of the usual one in manuscript, giving the current news. The only copy of this paper known to exist is in the Colonial State Paper Office in London.[3] It was confiscated no doubt. Fourteen years afterward the first weekly newspaper in the colonies was established also in Boston—"The News-Letter"—by Benjamin Harris. "The News-Letter" lived seventy years. 1690. 1704.

"The American Weekly Mercury" was founded in Philadelphia, and ten years later in the same city Benjamin Franklin published the first number of the "Pennsylvania Gazette;" two years later "The South Carolina Gazette" began its existence in Charleston, and five years afterward "The Virginia Gazette" made its appearance at Williamsburg. 1719. 1729. 1736.

[1] History, pp. 236, 318. [2] History , p. 221.
[3] Hudson's Journalism, p. 44.

CHAP. XVIII.

The influence was reciprocal; as these papers gradually advanced in excellence, the people, meanwhile, were becoming more and more intelligent and better qualified to appreciate their merits. They flourished more vigorously in the New England and in the three northern middle colonies than elsewhere. In the former especially the prevalence of common schools had made the great mass of the people readers; in addition the harsh climate of that section, when compared with the more genial one of the southern, led the people to cultivate indoor industries, and during the long and severe winters, to acquire knowledge and mental improvement by reading. Meantime a marvelous change had been going on during the French war, which assumed a decided character at its close. Now began the discussion, both by addresses of prominent men and in the newspapers, of the political questions involved in the policy of the Home Government, in its endeavor to interfere with the civil rights and industries of the colonies. The whole people were intensely roused to this phase of thought, and to the maintenance of their rights. In this clash of opinions the press became a still greater power, both in force and in numbers. It became the exponent, to a certain extent, of the sentiments of the royalists as well as the patriots, while the people themselves were stirred to their inmost souls.[1]

1756 to 1763.

The questions relating to civil and religious liberty absorbed the thoughts of the colonists so much that we learn only incidentally concerning their material progress, as the chronicles of the times give us only occasionally a glimpse of the domestic life of the people. We know that the New Englanders, more than the people of the middle or southern colonies, were compelled by the barrenness of their soil and the bleakness of their climate

[1] See History, chap. XXIV., pp. 317–324, for characteristics of the colonists.

to labor almost incessantly in obtaining a supply of the necessaries of life. They carefully cultivated wheat, but the sterile soil refused abundant crops; and they also devoted care to raising rye and Indian corn. It was different in the middle and the southern colonies: in them the soil was much more fertile, and the climate more genial; the crops of wheat and Indian corn in the former were abundant, while in the latter tobacco was the most valuable product, because of its ready sale. This led to its extensive culture, almost to the exclusion of the cereals—the latter were supplied by the middle colonies: even in that early day the different sections of the land were dependent upon one another. The rapid sale and high price of tobacco led to the introduction of foreign luxuries, and made the planters dependent on England, especially for their needed manufactured articles. On the contrary, the handicraft of the New Englanders and the people of the middle colonies was constantly improving, because they had no valuable product like tobacco to send to Europe to exchange for merchandise—not even to any extent for textile fabrics; hence they were compelled to manufacture these articles for themselves.

In the one section the working animal most prized was the ox, so patient and useful in cultivating the rocky farms in little valleys and on hillsides, and the cows furnishing so much food for the family, and the sheep for the production of wool. In the middle colonies the ox was used, but not so much as the draft-horse, in cultivating the large wheat fields; while in Virginia the hoe was as necessary, if not more, than the plow in cultivating tobacco. The Virginian cherished the horse as the noblest of animals, and imported from England the finest for the saddle, for hunting, and for racing, meanwhile neglecting his domestic cattle.

CHAPTER XIX.

MISSIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN NEW FRANCE.

The Emigrants few in number.—The Jesuits; their zeal as Teachers and Explorers.—Missions among the Hurons.—Ahasistari.—The Five Nations, or Iroquois.—Father Jogues.—The Abenakis; Dreuilettes.—The Dangers of the Missions.—French Settlers at Oswego.—James Marquette.—The Mississippi.—La Salle; his Enterprise; his Failure and tragical End.

CHAP. XIX.

1634.

We have already given an account of the discoveries made in New France, and the settlements founded under the direction of Samuel Champlain. We now intend to trace the history of these settlements and missions, from that period till the time when the Lilies of France were supplanted by the Banner of St. George.

The climate offered but few inducements to cultivators of the soil, and emigrants came but slowly; they established trading houses, rather than argicultural settlements. To accumulate wealth their main resource was in the peltries of the wilderness, and these could be obtained only from the Indians, who roamed over the vast regions west and north of the lakes.

A partial knowledge of the country had been obtained from a priest, Father Le Caron, the friend and companion of Champlain. He had, by groping through the woods, and paddling over the waters his birch-bark canoe, penetrated far up the St. Lawrence, explored the south shore of Lake Ontario, and even found his way to Lake Huron.

CHAP. XIX.

Three years before the death of Champlain, Louis XIII. gave a charter to a company, granting them the control of the valley of the St. Lawrence and all its tributaries. An interest was felt for the poor savages, and it was resolved to convert them to the religion of Rome;—not only convert them, but make them the allies of France. Worldly policy had as much influence as religious zeal. It was plain, the only way to found a French empire in the New World, was by making the native tribes subjects, and not by transplanting Frenchmen. 1634.

The missions to the Indians were transferred to the supervision of the Jesuits. This order of priests was founded expressly to counteract the influence of the Reformation under Luther. As the Reformers favored education and the diffusion of general intelligence, so the Jesuit became the advocate of education—provided it was under his own control. He resolved to rule the world by influencing its rulers; he would govern by intellectual power and the force of opinion, rather than by superstitious fears. He endeavored to turn the principles of the Reformation against itself. His vows enjoined upon him perfect obedience to the will of his superior,—to go on any mission to which he might be ordered. No clime so deadly that he would not brave its danger; no people so savage that he would not attempt their conversion. 1534.

With their usual energy and zeal, the Jesuits began to explore the wilds of New France, and to bring its wilder inhabitants under the influence of the Catholic faith. To the convert was offered the privileges of a subject of France. From this sprang a social equality, friendly relations were established, and intermarriages took place between the traders and the Indian women.

Companies of Hurons, who dwelt on the shores of the lake which bears their name, were on a trading expedition to Quebec. On their return home the Jesuits Brebeuf and Daniel accompanied them. They went up the Ot-

CHAP. XIX.

1634.

tawa till they came to its largest western branch, thence to its head-waters, and thence across the wilderness to their villages on Georgian bay and Lake Simcoe. The faith and zeal of these two men sustained them during their toilsome journey of nine hundred miles, and though their feet were lacerated and their garments torn, they rejoiced in their sufferings. Here in a grove they built, with their own hands, a little chapel, in which they celebrated the ceremonies of their church. The Red Man came to hear the morning and evening prayers; though in a language which he could not understand, they seemed to him to be addressed to the Great Spirit, whom he himself worshipped. Six missions were soon established in the villages around these lakes and bays. Father Brebeuf spent four hours of every morning in private prayer and self-flagellations, the rest of the day in catechizing and teaching. Sometimes he would go out into the village, and as he passed along would ring his little bell and thus invite the grave warriors to a conference, on the mysteries of his religion. Thus he labored for fifteen years.

These teachings had an influence on the susceptible heart of the great Huron chief Ahasistari. He professed himself a convert and was baptized. Often as he escaped uninjured from the perils of battle, he thought some powerful spirit watched over him, and now he believed that the God whom the white man worshipped was that guardian spirit. In the first flush of his zeal he exclaimed: "Let us strive to make all men Christians."

Thousands of the sons and daughters of the forest listened to instruction, and the story of their willingness to hear, when told in France, excited a new interest. The king and queen and nobles vied with each other in manifesting their regard by giving encouragement and aid to the missionaries, and by presents to the converts. A college, to educate men for these missions, was founded at Quebec, two years before the founding of Harvard. Two

years afterward the Ursuline convent was founded at Montreal for the education of Indian girls, and three young nuns came from France to devote themselves to that labor. They were received with demonstrations of joy by the Hurons and Algonquins. Montreal was now chosen as a more desirable centre for missionary operations. CHAP. XIX. 1635.

The tribes most intelligent and powerful, most warlike and cruel, with whom the colonists came in contact, were the Mohawks, or Iroquois, as the French named them. They were a confederacy consisting of five nations, the Senecas, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Mohawks—better known to the English by the latter name. This confederacy had been formed in accordance with the counsels of a great and wise chief, Hiawatha. Their traditions tell of him as having been specially guided by the Great Spirit, and that amid strains of unearthly music, he ascended to heaven in a snow-white canoe. They inhabited that beautiful and fertile region in Central New York, where we find the lakes and rivers still bearing their names. 1539.

Their territory lay on the south shore of Lake Ontario, and extended to the head-waters of the streams which flow into the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, and also to the sources of the Ohio. These streams they used as highways in their war incursions. They pushed their conquests up the lakes and down the St. Lawrence, and northward almost to the frozen regions around Hudson's bay. They professed to hold many of the tribes of New England as tributary, and extended their influence to the extreme east. They made incursions down the Ohio against the Shawnees, whom they drove to the Carolinas. They exercised dominion over the Illinois and the Miamis. They were the inveterate enemies of the Hurons, and a terror to the French settlements—especially were they hostile to the missions. In vain the Jesuits strove to teach them; French influence could never penetrate

CHAP. XIX.

south of Ontario. The Mohawks closely watched the passes of the St. Lawrence, and the intercourse between

1635. the missionaries stationed on the distant lakes and their head-quarters at Montreal, was interrupted unless they travelled the toilsome route by the Ottawa and the wilderness beyond.

1642. An expedition from the lakes had slipped through to Quebec, and now it endeavored to return. As the fleet approached the narrows, suddenly the Mohawks attacked it; most of the Frenchmen and Hurons made for the opposite shore. Some were taken prisoners, among whom was Father Jogues. The noble Ahasistari, from his hiding-place, saw his teacher was a prisoner; he knew that he would be tortured to death, and he hastened to him: "My brother," said he, "I made oath to thee, that I would share thy fortune, whether death or life; here I am to keep my vow." He received absolution at the hands of Jogues, and met death at the stake in a manner becoming a great warrior and a faithful convert.

Father Jogues was taken from place to place; in each village he was tortured and compelled to run the gauntlet. His fellow-priest, Goupil, was seen to make the sign of the cross on the forehead of an infant, as he secretly baptized it. The Indians thought it a charm to kill their children, and instantly a tomahawk was buried in the poor priest's head. The Dutch made great efforts, but in vain, to ransom Jogues, but after some months of captivity he made his escape to Fort Orange, where he was gladly received and treated with great kindness by the Dominie Megapolensis. Jogues went to France, but in a few years he was again among his tormentors as a messenger of the gospel; ere long a blow from a savage ended his life. A similar fate was experienced by others. Father Bressani was driven from hamlet to hamlet, sometimes scourged by all the inhabitants, and tortured in every

possible form which savage ingenuity could invent,—yet he survived, and was at last ransomed by the Dutch. CHAP. XIX.

The Abenakis of Maine sent messengers to Montreal asking missionaries. They were granted, and Father Dreuilettes made his way across the wilderness to the Penobscot, and a few miles above its mouth established a mission. The Indians came to him in great numbers. He became as one of themselves, he hunted, he fished, he taught among them, and won their confidence. He gave a favorable report of the place, and the disposition of the tribes, and a permanent Jesuit mission was there established. On one occasion Father Dreuilettes visited the Apostle Eliot at Roxbury. The noble and benevolent work in which they were engaged, served in the minds of these good men to soften the asperities existing between the Catholic and the Puritan, and they bid each other God speed. 1642.

At this time there were sixty or seventy devoted missionaries among the tribes extending from Lake Superior to Nova Scotia. But they did not elevate the character of the Indian; he never learned to till the soil, nor to dwell in a fixed abode; he was still a rover in the wild, free forest, living by the chase. The Abenakis, like the Hurons, were willing to receive religious instructions; they learned to chant matins and vespers, they loved those who taught them. It is not for us to say how many of them received into their hearts a new faith. 1646.

The continued incursions of the ferocious Mohawks kept these missions in peril. Suddenly one morning they attacked the mission of St. Joseph on Lake Simcoe, founded, as we have seen, by Brebeuf and Daniel. The time chosen was when the warriors were on a hunting excursion, and the helpless old men, women, and children fell victims to savage treachery. The aged priest Daniel, at the first war-cry, hastened to give absolution to all the converts he could reach, and then calmly advanced from 1648.

CHAP. XIX. 1648. the chapel in the face of the murderers. He fell pierced with many arrows. These marauding expeditions broke up nearly all the missions in Upper Canada. The Hurons were scattered, and their country became a hunting-ground for their inveterate enemies.

Many of the Huron converts were taken prisoners and adopted into the tribes of the Five Nations. Some years 1661. after, when a treaty was made between those nations and the French, the presence of these converts excited hopes that they would receive Jesuit teachers. A mission was established among the Onondagas, and Oswego, their principal village, was chosen for the station. In a year or two missionaries were laboring among the other tribes of the confederacy. But the French, who had an eye to securing that fertile region, sent fifty colonists, who began a settlement at the mouth of the Oswego. The jealousy of the Indians was excited; they compelled the colonists to leave their country, and with them drove away the missionaries. Thus ended the attempts of the French to possess the soil of New York.

The zeal of the Jesuits was not diminished by these untoward misfortunes; they still continued to prosecute their labors among the tribes who would receive them. Away beyond Lake Superior one of their number lost his way in the woods and perished, and the wild Sioux kept his cassock as an amulet. Into that same region the undaunted Father Allouez penetrated; there, at the largest town of the Chippewas, he found a council of the chiefs of many different tribes. They were debating whether they should take up arms against the powerful and warlike Sioux. He exhorted them to peace, and urged them 1666. to join in alliance with the French against the Iroquois; he also promised them trade, and the protection of the great king of the French. Then he heard for the first time of the land of the Illinois, where there were no trees, but vast plains covered with long grass, on which grazed

innumerable herds of buffalo and deer. He heard of the wild rice, and of the fertile lands which produced an abundance of maize, and of regions were copper was obtained,—the mines so famous in our own day. He learned, too, of the great river yet farther west, which flowed toward the south, whither, his informants could not tell. After a sojourn of two years Allouez returned to Quebec, to implore aid in establishing missions in that hopeful field. He stayed only to make known his request; in two days, he was on his way back to his field of labor, accompanied by only one companion. CHAP. XIX. 1669.

The next year came from France another company of priests, among whom was James Marquette, who repaired immediately to the missions on the distant lakes. Accompanied by a priest named Joliet, and five French boatmen, with some Indians as guides and interpreters, Marquette set out to find the great river, of which he had heard so much. The company passed up the Fox river in two birch-bark canoes; they carried them across the portage to the banks of the Wisconsin, down which they floated, till at length their eyes were gratified by the sight of the "Father of Waters." 1670.

They coast along its shores, lined with primeval forests, swarming with all kinds of game; the prairies redolent with wild flowers;—all around them is a waste of grandeur and of beauty. After floating one hundred and eighty miles they meet with signs of human beings. They land, and find, a few miles distant, an Indian village; here they are welcomed by a people who speak the language of their guides. They are told that the great river extends to the far south, where the heat is deadly, and that the great monsters of the river destroy both men and canoes.

Nothing daunted they pass on, and ere long they reach the place where the turbid and rapid Missouri plunges into the tranquil and clear Mississippi. "When I return,"

CHAP. XIX. 1670.

says Marquette, "I will ascend that river and pass beyond its head-waters and proclaim the gospel." Further on they see a stream flowing from the north-east;—it is the Ohio, of which the Iroquois have told them. We can imagine Marquette, noticing the fertility of the soil, looking with awe upon the dark and impenetrable forests, and hoping that in future ages these shores would be the homes of many millions of civilized and Christian men.

As they went on they approached a warmer climate; and now they were sure that the great river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into that of California, as had been supposed. They met with Indians who showed them tools of European manufacture; obtained either from the English of Virginia or from the Spanish further south. It was deemed prudent to return, as they might fall into the hands of the latter, and thus be deprived of the privilege of making known their discovery. At the mouth of the Arkansas they began the toilsome labor of paddling their canoes up the stream down which they had so easily floated. They reached the mouth of the Illinois; thinking it would lead them to the lakes, they passed up that river to its head-waters, and thence across to Lake Michigan.

Joliet immediately set out to carry the news of the discovery to Quebec. Marquette was desirous to begin his work, and he chose to remain in the humble station of a missionary in the wilderness. One day he retired to his private devotions, at a simple altar he had erected in a grove. An hour afterward he was found kneeling beside it; his prayers and his labors for the good of the poor Indian were ended;—in that hour of quiet retirement his spirit had passed away.

Among the adventurers who came to Canada to seek their fortunes, was Robert Cavalier de la Salle, a young man who had been educated as a Jesuit, but had renounced the order. A large domain at the outlet of Lake

Ontario was granted him on condition that he would maintain Fort Frontenac, now Kingston. But his main object was to obtain the entire trade of the Iroquois. The news of the discovery of the great river inflamed his ardent mind with a desire to make settlements on its banks, and thus secure its vast valley for his king. Leaving his lands and his herds, he sailed for France, and there obtained a favorable grant of privileges. He returned, passed up to Lake Erie, at the foot of which he built a vessel of sixty tons, in which, with a company of sailors, hunters, and priests, he passed through the straits to the upper lakes, and anchored in Green Bay. There, lading his ship with a cargo of precious furs, he sent her to Niagara, with orders to return as soon as possible with supplies. Meanwhile he passed over into the valley of the Illinois, and on a bluff by the river side, near where Peoria now stands, built a fort, and waited for his ship; but he waited in vain; she was wrecked on the voyage.

CHAP. XIX.

1675.

1677.

1679. Aug.

After three years of toils, wanderings in the wilderness, and voyages to France, during which he experienced disappointments that would have broken the spirit of an ordinary man, we find him once more on the banks of the Illinois. Now he built a barge, on board of which, with his companions, he floated down to the Mississippi, and thence to the Gulf. Thus were his hopes, after so much toil and sacrifice, realized. He had triumphantly traced the mighty stream to its mouth. He remained only to take possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, Louis XIV., in honor of whom he named it LOUISIANA.

1682. April 9.

La Salle returned to Quebec, and immediately sailed for France. He desired to carry into effect his great design of planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The enterprise was looked upon with favor by both the French people and the king. He was furnished with an armed frigate and three other vessels, and two hundred and eighty persons to form a colony. One hundred of

1684.

CHAP. XIX.

1684. these were soldiers; of the remainder, some were volunteers, some mechanics, and some priests. Unfortunately, the command of the ships was given to Beaujeu, a man as ignorant as he was self-willed and conceited. After surmounting many difficulties, they entered the Gulf of Mexico, but missed the mouth of the Mississippi. La

1685. Feb. Salle soon discovered the error, but the stubborn Beaujeu, deaf to reason, sailed on directly west, till fortunately arrested by the eastern shore of Texas. La Salle determined to disembark and seek by land the mouth of the great river. The careless pilot ran on the store-ship on the breakers; suddenly a storm arose, and very little was saved of the abundance which Louis had provided for the enterprise. It is said that he gave more to aid this one colony than the English sovereigns combined gave to all theirs in North America.

As the ships were about to leave them on that desolate shore, many became discouraged, and returned home. The waters in the vicinity abounded in fish, and the forests in game, and with a mild climate and productive soil, there was no danger from starvation. A fort was built in a suitable place; the trees of a grove three miles distant furnished the material, which they dragged across the prairie. La Salle explored the surrounding country, but sought in vain for the Mississippi. On his return to the fort, he was grieved to find his colony reduced to forty persons, and they disheartened and mutinous. He did not despair; he would yet accomplish the darling object of his ambition; he would thread his way through the wilderness to Canada, and induce colonists to join him.

1687. Jan. With a company of sixteen men he commenced the journey; they travelled two months across the prairies west of the Mississippi; but the hopes that had cheered his heart amidst hardships and disappointments were never to be realized. Two of his men, watching their opportunity, murdered him. Thus perished Robert Cavalier de

la Salle, assassinated in the wilderness by his own countrymen. He was the first to fully appreciate the importance of securing to France the two great valleys of this continent. His name will ever be associated with his unsuccessful enterprise, and his tragical fate will ever excite a feeling of sympathy. Retribution was not long delayed; his murderers, grasping at spoils, became involved in a quarrel with their companions, and both perished by the hand of violence.

The remainder of the company came upon a tributary of the Mississippi, down which they passed to its mouth, where their eyes were greeted by a cross, and the arms of France engraved upon a tree. This had been done by Tonti, a friend of La Salle, who had descended from the Illinois, but in despair of seeing him had returned. The colony of Texas perished without leaving a memento of its existence.

CHAPTER XX.

MARAUDING EXPEDITIONS; SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA; CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG.

Mohawks hostile to the French.—Dover attacked; Major Waldron.—Schenectady captured and burned.—The inhuman Frontenac.—The Colonists act for themselves.—Invasion of Canada.—Settlements in Maine abandoned.—Heroism of Hannah Dustin.—Deerfield taken; Eunice Williams.—D'Ibberville plants a Colony on the Pascagoula.—Trading Posts on the Illinois and the Mississippi.—The Choctaws; the Natchez; attempts to subdue the Chickasaws.—King George's War.—Capture of Louisburg.—The English Ministry alarmed.—Jonathan Edwards.—The "Great Revival."—Princeton College.

CHAP. XX.

1685. PEACE had continued for some time between the Five Nations and the French, but now the former were suspicious of the expeditions of La Salle. James II. had instructed Dongan, the Catholic governor of New York, to conciliate the French, to influence the Mohawks to receive Jesuit missionaries, and to quietly introduce the Catholic religion into the colony. But Dongan felt more interest in the fur trade, which the French seemed to be monopolizing, than in Jesuit missions among the Mohawks, and he rather encouraged the latter in their hostility. An act of treachery increased this feeling. Some of their chiefs, who were enticed to enter Fort Frontenac, were seized and forcibly carried to France, and there made slaves.

1688. When the indignant people of England drove the bigoted James from his throne and invited William of Orange to fill it, Louis XIV. took up the quarrel in behalf of James, or of legitimacy, as he termed it. He believed

in the divine right of kings to rule, and denied the right of a people to change their form of government. Louis had for years greatly abused his power, and all Europe had suffered from his rapacity. Religious feeling exerted its influence in giving character to the war, and Protestant Holland joined heart and hand with Protestant England in opposing Catholic France. CHAP. XX. 1688.

Though the colonies were thus involved in war by the mother countries, they had different ends in view. The New Englanders had an eye to the fisheries and the protection of their northern frontiers; the French wished to extend their influence over the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and to monopolize the fisheries as well as the fur-trade. The latter object could be obtained only by the aid of the Indians, and they were untiring in their efforts to make them friends. They could never conciliate the Mohawks, nor induce them to join in an invasion of New York. On the contrary, fifteen hundred of them suddenly appeared before Montreal, and in a few days captured that place, and committed horrible outrages upon the people.

Thus stood matters when Frontenac, for the second time, appeared as governor of New France. To make the savages respect him as a warrior, he set on foot a series of incursions against the English colonies. The eastern Indians were incited to attack Dover in New Hampshire;—incited by the French, and also by a cherished desire for revenge. There, at the head of the garrison, was that Major Waldron who, thirteen years before, during King Philip's war, had treacherously seized two hundred of their friends, who came to him to treat of peace. He had proposed to these unsuspecting Indians a mock fight by way of entertainment; when their guns were all discharged he made them prisoners and sent them to Boston. Some of them were hanged, and others sold into slavery. The Indians in their turn employed stratagem and treach- 1689.

CHAP. XX. 1689. ery. Two squaws came to Dover; they asked of the aged Waldron, now fourscore, a night's lodging. In the night they arose, unbarred the gates, and let in their friends, who lay in ambush. Their hour for vengeance had come; they made the pangs of death as bitter as possible to the brave old Waldron; his white hairs claimed from them no pity. In derision, they placed him in a chair on a table, and scored his body with gashes equal in number to their friends he had betrayed; they jeeringly asked him, "Who will judge Indians now? Who will hang our brothers? Will the pale-faced Waldron give us life for life?"[1] They burned all the houses, murdered nearly half the inhabitants, and carried the remainder into captivity.

This was only the beginning of a series of horrors inflicted upon the frontier towns. The inhabitants of Schenectady, as they slept in fancied security, were startled at midnight by the terrible war-whoop of the savage, —the harbinger of untold horrors. The enemy found easy 1690. Feb. access, as the gates of the palisades were open. The houses were set on fire, more than sixty persons were killed, and many helpless women and children were carried into captivity. A few escaped and fled half clad through the snow to Albany. This attack was made by a party of French and Indians from Montreal, who had toiled for twenty-two days through the snows of winter, breaking the track with snow-shoes, and using, when they could, the frozen streams as a pathway. At Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, and at Casco, similar scenes were enacted.

Such were the means the inhuman Frontenac, now almost fourscore, took to inspire terror in the minds of the English colonists, and to acquire the name of a great warrior among the Indians,—they would follow none but a successful leader. Among the early Jesuit missionaries who taught the Indians of New France, there were un-

[1] New England History, C. W. Elliott.

doubtedly many good men. The priests of that generation had passed away, and others had taken their places; these incited the recently converted savage, not to practise Christian charity and love, but to pillage and murder the heretical English colonist.

King William was busy in maintaining his own cause in England, and left the colonists to defend themselves. Massachusetts proposed that they should combine, and remove the cause of their trouble by conquering Canada. Commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York met to deliberate on what course to pursue. They resolved to invade that province from New York, by way of Lake Champlain, and from Massachusetts by way of the St. Lawrence. The expedition from New York failed. Colonel Peter Schuyler led the advance with a company of Mohawks, but the ever-watchful Frontenac was prepared; his Indian allies flocked in crowds to aid him in defending Montreal. The Mohawks were repulsed and could not recover their position, as the army sent to support them was compelled to stop short; the small-pox broke out among the soldiers, and they were in want of provisions.

Meantime, the fleet of thirty-two vessels, and two thousand men, which had sailed from Boston, was endeavoring to find its way up the St. Lawrence. It was under the command of Sir William Phipps, to whose incompetency may be attributed the failure of the enterprise. An Indian runner cut across the woods from Piscataqua, and in twelve days brought the news of the intended attack to the French. Frontenac hastened to Quebec, where he arrived three days before the fleet. When it came in sight he was prepared to make a vigorous defence. A party landed, but after some skirmishing the enterprise was abandoned. While returning, the men suffered much from sickness, and storms disabled the fleet. The disappointment of the people of Massachusetts

CHAP. XX.

was very great; many lives had been lost, and the colony was laden with debt.

1690. The Eastern Indians, in the mean time, were held in check by Captain Church, celebrated in King Philip's war. At one time, he so far forgot himself as to put to death his prisoners, some of whom were women and children. Such cruelty was inexcusable; and it was avenged by the savages with tenfold fury. Nearly all the settlements of what is now Maine were destroyed or abandoned. The enemy were continually prowling around the farms, watching an opportunity to shoot the men at their work. All went armed, and even the women learned to handle effectively the musket and the rifle. It was a great inducement for the Indians to go on these marauding expeditions, because they could sell for slaves to the French of Canada the women and children they took prisoners.

Peace was at length made with the Abenakis, or Eastern Indians, and there was a lull in the storm of desolation. It lasted but a year, the Indians broke the treaty, They were incited to this by their teachers, two Jesuits, Thury and Bigot, who even took pride in their atrocious work.

1694. Heroic deeds were performed by men and women. A small band of Indians attacked the house of a farmer named Dustin, near Haverhill. When in the fields he heard the war-whoop and the cry of distress. He hastened to the rescue, met his children, and threw himself between them and their pursuers, whom he held at bay by well-directed shots till the children were in a place of safety. His house was burned; a child only a few days old was dashed against a tree, and his wife, Hannah Dustin, and her nurse, were carried away captive. A toilsome march brought them to an island in the Merrimac, just above Concord, where their captors lived. There Mrs. Dustin, with the nurse and a boy, also a captive, planned an escape. She wished revenge, as well as to be

secure from pursuit. The Indians, twelve in number, were asleep. She arose, assigned to each of her companions whom to strike; their hands were steady and their hearts firm; they struck for their lives. Ten Indians were killed, one woman was wounded, and a child was purposely saved. The heroic woman wished to preserve a trophy of the deed, and she scalped the dead. Then in a canoe the three floated down the Merrimac to Haverhill, much to the astonishment of their friends, who had given them up for lost. Such were the toils and sufferings and such the heroism of the mothers in those days. CHAP. XX. 1694.

The friendly Mohawks had intimated to the inhabitants of Deerfield, in the valley of the Connecticut, that the enemy was plotting their destruction. The anxiety of the people was very great, and they resolved during the winter to keep a strict watch; sentinels were placed every night.

On an intensely cold night in February a company of two hundred Frenchmen, and one hundred and forty Indians, lay in ambush, waiting a favorable moment to spring upon their victims. Under the command of Hertel de Rouville, they had come all the way from Canada, on the crust of a deep snow, with the aid of snow-shoes. The sentinels, unconscious of danger, retired at dawn of day. The snow had drifted as high as the palisades, thus enabling the party to pass within the inclosure, which consisted of twenty acres. The terrible war-cry startled the inhabitants, the houses were set on fire, and forty-seven persons were ruthlessly murdered; one hundred and twelve were taken captive, among whom were the minister Williams, his wife, and five children. No pen can describe the sufferings of the captives on that dreary winter's march, driven, as they were, by relentless Frenchmen and savages. Eunice Williams, the wife, drew consolation from her Bible, which she was permitted to read when the party stopped for the night. Her strength soon 1704.

CHAP. XX. 1704. failed; her husband cheered her by pointing her to the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." "The mother's heart rose to her lips, as she commended her five captive children, under God, to their father's care, and then one blow of the tomahawk ended her sorrows." This family, with the exception of one daughter, seven years old, were afterward ransomed, and returned home.

Many years after this, there appeared at Deerfield a white woman wearing the Indian garb; she was the lost daughter of Eunice Williams, and now a Catholic, and the wife of an Indian chief. No entreaties could influence her to remain with her civilized relatives; she chose to return and end her days with her own children.

Humanity shudders at the recital of the horrors that marked those days of savage warfare. Some of the Indians even refused to engage any more in thus murdering the English colonists; but the infamous Hertel, with the approbation of Vaudreuil, then governor of Canada, induced a party to accompany him on a foray. Why repeat the story of the fiendish work, by which the little village of Haverhill, containing about thirty log-cabins, was burned, and all the inhabitants either murdered or 1708. taken captive. "My heart swells with indignation," wrote Colonel Peter Schuyler of New York, to Vaudreuil, "when I think that a war between Christians princes, is degenerating into a savage and a boundless butchery; I hold it my duty toward God and my neighbor, to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties." This reproof was unheeded; the cruelties continued.

Under the feelings excited by such outrages, can we think it strange that the colonists resolved to hunt the Indians like wild beasts, and offered a bounty for their scalps? or that the hostility against the French Jesuit should have thrown suspicion upon the Catholic of Maryland, who about this time was disfranchised? or that even

in liberal Rhode Island, he should have been deprived of the privilege of becoming a freeman? CHAP. XX.

With renewed energy the French began to press forward their great design of uniting, by means of trading posts and missions, the region of the Lakes and the valley of the Mississippi. The Spaniards had possession of the territory on the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, while they claimed the entire regions lying around that expanse of water. 1708.

The energetic mind of Lemoine d'Ibberville conceived a plan for planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He was a native of Canada, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself by his talents and great courage. Hopes were entertained of his success. The expedition, consisting of four vessels and nearly two hundred colonists, among whom were some women and children, sailed from Canada for the mouth of the Mississippi. 1699. D'Ibberville entered the Gulf and approached the north shore, landed at the mouth of the river Pascagoula, and with two barges and forty-eight men went to seek the great river. He found it by following up a current of muddy waters, in which were many floating trees. He passed up the stream to the mouth of Red River, where he was surprised to receive a letter dated fourteen years before. It was from Tonti; he had left it with the Indians for La Salle; they had preserved it carefully, and gave it to the first Frenchman who visited them.

As the shores of the Mississippi in that region are marshy, it was thought best to form a settlement on the Gulf at the mouth of the Pascagoula. This was the first colony planted within the limits of the present State of Mississippi. D'Ibberville sailed for France to obtain supplies and more colonists, leaving one of his brothers, Sauville, to act as governor, and the other, Bienville, to engage in exploring the country and river.

Some fifty miles up the Mississippi Bienville met an

CHAP. XX.

1630. English ship sent on the same errand. Seventy years before, Charles I. had given to Sir Robert Heath a grant of Carolina, which as usual was to extend to the Pacific. This worthless grant Coxe, a London physician, had purchased, and to him belonged this vessel.

From the time of La Salle the Jesuits had been busy ingratiating themselves with the tribes along the shores of the Mississippi, and under their direction trading posts were established, at various points, to the mouth of the Illinois, and up that river to the Lakes.

1700. The following year D'Ibberville returned with two ships and sixty colonists, and the aged Tonti had just arrived from the Illinois. Availing himself of his counsel, D'Ibberville ascended the river four hundred miles, and on a bluff built a fort, which, in honor of the Duchess of Pontchartrain, was called Rosalie. These settlements languished for twenty years; the colonists were mere hirelings, unfitted for their work. The whole number of emigrants for ten years did not exceed two hundred persons. Instead of cultivating the soil, and making their homes comfortable, many went to the far west seeking for gold, and others to the north-west on the same errand, while fevers and other diseases were doing the work of death. Meantime MOBILE became the centre of French influence in the south.

Once more a special effort was made to occupy the territory, and a monopoly of trade was granted to Arthur
1714. Crozart, who was to send every year two ships laden with merchandise and emigrants, and also a cargo of slaves from Africa. The French government was to appropriate annually about ten thousand dollars to defray the expense of forts and necessary protection.

A trading house was established up the Red River at Natchitoches, and one up the Alabama near the site of Montgomery; Fort Rosalie became a centre of trade, and

the germ of the present city of NATCHEZ—the oldest town on the Mississippi. CHAP. XX.

1718. Bienville put the convicts to work on a cane-brake to remove the trees and shrubs "from a savage and desert place," and built a few huts. Such were the feeble beginnings of NEW ORLEANS, which it was prophesied would yet become "a rich city, the metropolis of a great colony." Still the colony did not prosper; instead of obtaining their supplies from that fruitful region, they were dependent on France and St. Domingo. Labor was irksome to the convicts and vagabonds, and the overflowings of the river, and the unhealthiness of the climate retarded progress. The chief hope for labor was based on the importation of negroes from Africa.

Some German settlers, who, a few years before, had been induced by one Law, a great stock-jobbing and land speculator, to emigrate to the banks of the Arkansas, decided to remove. A tract of land, lying twenty miles above New Orleans, known now as the "German coast," was given them. Their settlement was in contrast with 1722. the others. They were industrious, and cultivated their farms, raised vegetables, rice, and other provisions; also tobacco and indigo. The fig and the orange were now introduced. The Illinois region had been settled by emigrants from Canada, who raised wheat and sent flour to the colonists below. The priests meanwhile were not idle in teaching the Indians, and a convent was founded at New Orleans for the education of girls. As the colonists had not energy enough to protect themselves, a thousand soldiers were sent from France for that purpose. 1724.

The Choctaws, the allies of the French, occupied the region between the lower Mississippi and the Alabama. The principal village of the Natchez tribe was on the bluff where now stands the city of that name. They were not a numerous people, unlike the tribes among whom they dwelt, in their language as well as in their

CHAP. XX.

religion. Like the Peruvians, they were worshippers of the sun, and in their great wigwam they kept an undying
1724. fire. Their principal chief professed to be a descendant of the sun. They became justly alarmed at the encroachments of the French, who having Fort Rosalie, demanded the soil on which stood their principal village, for a farm. They suddenly fell upon the white intruders and killed two hundred of their number, and took captive their women and children. The negro slaves joined the Indians. Their principal chief, the Great Sun, had the heads of the French officers slain in the battle arranged around
1730. him, that he might smoke his pipe in triumph;—his triumph was short. A company, consisting of French and Choctaws, under Le Suer, came up from New Orleans, and surprised them while they were yet celebrating their victory. The Great Sun and four hundred of his people were taken captive and sent to St. Domingo as slaves. Some of the Natchez escaped and fled to the Chickasaws, and some fled beyond the Mississippi; their land passed into the hand of strangers, and soon, they as a people were unknown.

The territory of the brave Chickasaws, almost surrounding that of Natchez, extended north to the Ohio, and east to the land of the Cherokees. They were the enemies of the French, whose boats, trading from Canada and Illinois to New Orleans, they were accustomed to plunder. English traders from Carolina were careful to increase this enmity toward their rivals.

1735. Two expeditions were set on foot to chastise these bold marauders. Bienville came up from the south with a fleet of boats and canoes, and a force of twelve hundred Choctaws: he paddled up the Tombecbee as far as he could, and then hastened across the country to surprise one of their fortified places. D'Artaguette hastened down from the Illinois country, of which he was governor, with fifty Frenchmen and a thousand Indians, to attack

another of their strongholds. The Chickasaws were too vigilant to be thus surprised. They repulsed Bienville, dispersed the forces of D'Artaguette, took him prisoner, and burned him at the stake. Once more an attempt was made with all the force the French could bring to crush this warlike tribe, but in vain; the patriotic Chickasaws successfully defended their country against the foreign foe.

1735. May 20. 1740.

These reverses did not deter the persevering French from establishing trading houses south of Lake Erie, and down the Alleghany to the Ohio, and thence to the Mississippi. The people of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia became alarmed at these encroachments on their territory. The Iroquois professed to have conquered all the valley of the Ohio, and they claimed a vast region to the north-west as their hunting grounds. Commissioners from the above colonies met the envoys of the Iroquois at Lancaster, and purchased from them for £400 all their claim to the regions which they professed to own between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains.

1745. July.

The colonies had enjoyed nearly thirty years of comparative freedom from French and Indian incursions, when they were involved in what is known as King George's War.

1744.

The first intimation of hostilities was an attack upon the fort at Canso, in which the garrison was captured and carried to Louisburg. Louisburg was the great stronghold of the French on this continent; the centre from which privateering expeditions were fitted out, that had nearly destroyed the commerce as well as the fisheries of New England. To prevent these depredations, and the inroads to which the French incited their Indian allies, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed to the General Court to take Louisburg. No aid was expected from the mother country—she was too much engaged at home; but the other colonies were invited to enlist in the common cause. New Jersey and Pennsylvania agreed to

CHAP. XX. 1744. furnish money, but declined to send men; New York furnished money and some cannon; Connecticut offered five hundred men; Rhode Island and New Hampshire each furnished a regiment. Massachusetts proposed the expedition, was the most interested in its success, bore the greater part of the expense, and furnished the greater portion of the men and vessels. The fishermen, especially those of Marblehead, entered upon the enterprise with alacrity. Their fisheries had been almost ruined and they thrown out of employment, by the continued forays from Louisburg. Farmers, mechanics, and lumbermen volunteered in great numbers. Here were citizen soldiers, without a single man whose knowledge of military tactics went beyond bush-fighting with the Indians, and all equally ignorant of the proper means to be used in reducing a fortified place. A wealthy merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, was elected commander. The artillery was under the direction of Gridley, the same who, thirty years afterward, held a similar position in an American army under very different circumstances. The enthusiasm was great, and what was lacking in means and skill, was supplied by zeal. A strong Protestant sentiment was mingled with the enterprise, and Whitefield, then on his third tour of preaching in the colonies, was urged to furnish a motto for the banner. He promptly suggested, "*Nil desperandum, Christo duce*,"—"Nothing is to be despaired of when Christ is leader." He also preached to them an inspiriting sermon, and they sailed, like the Crusaders of old, confident of success.

1745. In April the fleet arrived at Canso, but owing to the ice, could not enter the harbor of Louisburg. Intelligence of the expedition had been sent to England, and Admiral Warren, who commanded on the West India station, was invited to join the enterprise. He declined for want of explicit orders, but afterward receiving permission, he hastened to join them with four men-of-war.

CHAP. XX.

1745.

The whole armament was now put in motion for Louisburg. That stronghold had walls forty feet thick, thirty feet high, and surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide, with protecting forts around it, manned by nearly two hundred and fifty cannon, small and great, and garrisoned by sixteen hundred men.

As the fleet approached, the French came down to the beach to oppose their landing, but in a moment the "whale boats," filled with armed men, were "flying like eagles" to the shore. Their opposers, panic-stricken, fled; and the following night the soldiers of the royal battery, one of the outside forts, spiked their cannon and retreated to the town. The deserted fort was immediately taken possession of, and the gunsmiths went to work to bore out the spikes. The next day a detachment marched round the town, giving it three cheers as they passed, and took up a position that completely enclosed the place on the land side, while the fleet did the same toward the ocean. They threw up batteries, dragged their cannon over a morass, and brought them to bear upon the fortress.

These amateur soldiers soon became accustomed to encamping in the open air, and sleeping in the woods, as well as to the cannon-balls sent among them by the besieged. They not only prevented ships from entering the harbor, but found means to decoy into the midst of their fleet and capture a man-of-war of sixty-four guns, laden with stores for the fort. This loss so much disheartened the garrison that, after a siege of seven weeks, Louisburg surrendered. The news of this success sent a thrill of joy throughout the colonies. It was the greatest feat of the war, and was accomplished by undisciplined volunteers.

June 17.

France resolved, at any cost, to recover her stronghold, and also to desolate the English colonies. The fleet sent for the purpose was disabled by storms, while pestilence wasted the men. The commander, the Duke d'An-

CHAP. XX.

1746.

ville, suddenly died, and his successor, a short time after, committed suicide. The next year the fleet, sent for the same purpose, was forced to strike its colors to an English squadron under Admirals Anson and Warren.

Though thus successful, the frontier settlements still suffered greatly, and in self-defence the old project was revived of conquering Canada. The government of England required all the colonies, as far south as Virginia, to furnish men and means. Eight thousand men were raised, of which number Massachusetts furnished nearly one-half. The British ministry suddenly changed their mind, and the enterprise was abandoned. Soon after, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was concluded, by which all places taken by either party during the war were to be restored. Thus Louisburg, the capture of which was so gratifying to the colonists, and so significant of their daring spirit, passed again into the hands of the French.

1748.

The ministry did not relish the ardor and independence of the colonists, who appeared to have, according to Admiral Warren, "the highest notions of the rights and liberties of Englishmen; and, indeed, as almost levellers." It was in truth the foreshadowing of their complete independence of the mother country, and measures were taken by her to make them more subservient. They were forbidden to have any manufactures, to trade to any place out of the British dominions, while no other nation than the English were permitted to trade with them. "These oppressions," says an intelligent traveller of that day, "may make, within thirty or fifty years, the colonies entirely independent of England."

For many years there had been a marked decline in religion in New England. A peculiar union of church and state had led to a sort of compromise between the two, known as the "Half-way covenant," by which persons who had been baptized, but without pretensions to

personal piety, were admitted to the full privileges of church members. CHAP. XX.

In the midst of this declension a religious "Awakening," better known as the "Great Revival," commenced at Northampton, in Massachusetts, under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, a young man remarkable for his intellectual endowments. His sermons were doctrinal and strongly Calvinistic. His religious character had been early developed. At thirteen he entered Yale College; thoughtful beyond his years, a metaphysician by nature, at that early age he was enraptured with the perusal of Locke on the "Understanding." Secluded from the world by the love of study, he penetrated far into the mysteries of the workings of the human mind. 1735.

Edwards drew from the Bible the knowledge of the true relation between the church and the world. The contest was long and strenuous, but the lines were clearly drawn, and from that day to this the distinction is marked and appreciated. "He repudiated the system of the Half-way covenant," and proclaimed the old doctrines of "the sole right of the sanctified to enjoy the privileges of church members, and of salvation by faith alone." As the influence of the state in religious matters thus began to fade away, a closer spiritual relation of men to men, not as members of a commonwealth alone, but as members of a great brotherhood, gained in importance.

Parties sprang into existence; those who favored a more spiritual life in religion were stigmatized as "New Lights," while the steady conservatives were known as the "Old Lights." So bitter was the feeling that in Connecticut the civil authority was invoked, and severe laws were enacted against the New Lights. The controversy was so warm that Edwards was driven from his congregation—at that time, "the largest Protestant society in the world." He went as a missionary to the Housatonic Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. There in the forest, 1742.

CHAP. XX.

amid toils and privations, he wrote his far-famed treatise on the "Freedom of the Will," which has exerted so much influence in the theological world, while the writer was the first American that obtained a European reputation as an author.

1750.

1740. During this period Whitefield came, by invitation, to New England. He had been preaching in the south with unexampled success. At intervals, for more than thirty years, he preached the gospel from colony to colony. "Hundreds of thousands heard the highest evangelical truths uttered with an eloquence probably never equalled." The influence of the awakening spread till all the colonies were visited by the same blessings, especially the Presbyterians of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and in a less degree in the more southern colonies. These influences were not limited to that age, for similar revivals have continued to our own times.

The Baptists, hitherto but few in number, received a new impulse, as many of the New Light churches adopted their views; and the preaching of Whitefield prepared the way for the success of the Methodists.

The revival created a want for ministers of the gospel, to supply which, the Rev. William Tennent established an academy at Neshaminy; an institution where young men professing the religious fervor that characterized those prominent in the revival, could be prepared for the sacred office. This was the germ of Princeton College.

This religious sentiment met with little sympathy from the authorities of the colony, and with difficulty a

1746. charter was obtained. The institution was named Nassau Hall, in honor of the great Protestant hero, William III. It was first located at Elizabethtown, then at Newark,

1757. and finally at Princeton. Its success was unexampled; in ten years the number of students increased from eight to ninety.

CHAPTER XXI.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

The Valley of the Ohio.—French and English Claimants.—Gist the Pioneer.—George Washington; his Character; his Mission to the French on the Alleghany.—Returns to Williamsburg.—St. Pierre's Letter unsatisfactory.—Virginians driven from the Ohio.—Fort Du Quesne built.—Washington sent to defend the Frontiers.—Conflict at Fort Necessity.—The Fort abandoned.—British Troops arrive in America.—Plan of operations.—General Braddock; his qualifications.—The Army marches from Wills' Creek.—Obstinacy of Braddock.—Arrival on the Monongahela.—The Battle.—Defeat.—Death and Burial of Braddock.—Dunbar's Panic.—The Frontiers left unprotected.

1749.

SCARCELY an English colonist had yet settled in the valley of the Ohio. The traders who visited the Indians in that region, told marvellous stories of the fertility of the soil, and the desirableness of the climate. It was proposed to found a colony west of the Alleghany mountains. The governor of Virginia received royal instructions to grant the "Ohio Company" five hundred thousand acres of land lying between the rivers Monongahela and Kanawha, and on the Ohio. The company engaged to send one hundred families; to induce them to emigrate they offered them freedom from quit-rents for ten years.

Meantime, the French sent three hundred men to expel the English traders and take possession of the valley. They also sent agents, who passed through the territory north of the Ohio river, and at various points nailed on the trees plates of lead, on which were inscribed the arms of France. This they were careful to do in the presence

CHAP. XXI.

1749.

of the Indians, who suspected they intended to take away their lands. When the English came and made surveys on the south side of the Ohio, they asked them the puzzling question: "If the French take possession of the north side of the Ohio, and the English of the south, where is the Indian's land?"

At Wills' Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, one of the easiest passes over the mountains commenced. Here the Ohio Company established a place of deposit to supply Indian traders with goods. They also wished to explore the Ohio river to the great falls; to ascertain the location of the best lands, and whether the Indians were friendly or unfriendly. They employed for this dangerous and difficult task the celebrated trader and pioneer Christopher Gist, who crossed the mountains and came upon the Alleghany river, at a village occupied by a few Delaware Indians. Thence he passed down to Logstown, a sort of head-quarters for traders, situated some miles below the junction of that river and the Monongahela. Here dwelt a renowned chief of the western tribes, Tanacharison, or half-king, as he was called, because he acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the Mohawks. "You are come to settle the Indian lands," said the resident traders, whose suspicions were roused; "you will never go home safe." Gist traversed the region of the Muskingum and of the Scioto, then crossed the Ohio, and passed up the Cuttawa or Kentucky to its very springs. He gave a glowing account of the beauty and fertility of the region he had visited. It was covered with trees of immense size, the wild cherry, the ash, the black walnut, and the sugar maple, the two latter giving indubitable proof of the fertility of the soil; a land abounding in never-failing springs and rivulets, forests interspersed with small meadows, covered with long grass and white clover, on which fed herds of elk, deer, and buffalo, while the wild turkey and other game promised abundance to the hunter and

pioneer. Such was the primitive character of the territory since known as the State of Ohio. CHAP. XXI.

He ascertained that French emissaries were visiting all the western tribes, to induce them to take up arms against the English; that the Indians looked upon both as intruders, and though willing to trade with both, were unwilling that either should occupy their lands. The French saw that if the English obtained a foothold on the Ohio, they would cut off the communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi. The final struggle for the supremacy in the valley was near at hand. 1749.

While the English, by invitation of the Indians, were approaching from the south, to build a fort at the head of the Ohio, the French were approaching the same point from the north. The latter had built war vessels at Frontenac to give them the command of Lake Ontario; they had strengthened themselves with treaties with the most powerful tribes, the Shawnees and the Delawares; they had repaired Fort Niagara, at the foot of Lake Erie, and at this time had not less than sixty fortified and well garrisoned posts between Montreal and New Orleans. They had also built a fort at Presque Isle, now Erie, one on French Creek, on the site of Waterford, and another at the junction of that creek with the Alleghany, now the village of Franklin.

Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, resolved to send a messenger to remonstrate with the French for intruding on English territory. Where could he find a man of energy and prudence to trust in this laborious and perilous undertaking? His attention was directed to a mere youth, in his twenty-second year, a surveyor, who, in the duties of his profession, had become somewhat familiar with the privations of forest life. That young man was George Washington. He was a native of Westmoreland county, Virginia. The death of his father left him an orphan when eleven years of age. The wealthy Virginia 1732. Feb. 22.

CHAP. XXI. 1749.

planters of those days were accustomed to send their sons to England to complete their education, and thus had Lawrence, his half-brother, fourteen years older than himself, been educated. No such privilege was in store for George. His father's death may have interfered with such plans: be that as it may, he was sent to the common school in the neighborhood, and there taught only the simplest branches of an English education—to spell, to read, to write, to cipher. When older, he went for some time to an academy of a somewhat higher grade, where he devoted his time particularly to the study of mathematics.

Though his school advantages were so limited, it was his inestimable privilege to have a mother endowed with good sense, united to decision of character and Christian principle,—she inspired love, she enforced obedience. From her he inherited an ardent, impulsive temper—from her he received his antidote; she taught him to hold it in subjection.

The early life of George Washington furnishes an example worthy the imitation of the youth of his country. We are told of his love of truth, of his generous and noble acts, that he won the confidence of his schoolmates, and received from them that respect which virtue alone can secure.

He was systematic and diligent in all his studies. There may yet be seen, in the library at Mount Vernon, the book in which he drew his first exercise in surveying; every diagram made with the utmost care. Thus was foreshadowed in the youth what was fully developed in the man. At the early age of sixteen, we find him in the woods on the frontiers of Virginia, performing his duties as a surveyor; making his measurements with so much accuracy that to this day they are relied upon.

We must not suppose that the studious and sedate youth, with his rules for governing his "conversation and conduct" carefully written out, and as carefully observed,

was destitute of boyish feelings. He had his youthful sports and enjoyments; he could exhibit feats of strength and skill; he could ride a horse or throw a stone with any boy, and was so far military in his tastes as occasionally to drill his school-fellows during recess.

His brother Lawrence had spent some time in the English navy, and George had often heard of the excitements of the seaman's life, and had boyish longings for adventures on the ocean. Circumstances seemed to favor his wishes. When fourteen, it was decided that he should enter the navy. The man-of-war on which he was to go as a midshipman was lying in the Potomac; his baggage was ready, but when the parting hour came the mother's heart failed. Though deeply disappointed, George yielded to her wish, and relinquished his anticipated pleasure.

Though Washington was born and spent his youth in the wilds of Virginia, there were many refining influences brought to bear upon the formation of his character. He was intimate for years in the Fairfax family, who brought with them to their western home the refinement and culture of the English aristocracy of that day. Neither must we overlook the benign influence exerted over him by his educated and benevolent brother Lawrence, who, up to the time of his death, watched over his young brother with a father's care, as well as a brother's love.

The influence of Christian principle governing the impulses of a noble nature, was the secret of the moral excellence, the dignified integrity, unaffected candor, and sterling worth, which shone forth in the character of Washington,—a name so much blended with the liberties of his country, and so much cherished and honored by the friends of humanity in every clime.

Governor Dinwiddie gave his youthful messenger a letter for the French commandant on the Ohio, in which he demanded of him his reasons for invading the territory of England. The very day on which Washington re-

CHAP. XXI. 1753.

ceived his credentials, (October 30,) he left Williamsburg for Winchester, then a frontier town of Virginia. By the middle of November his preparations were completed. With a company consisting of the intrepid Gist, who acted as guide, two interpreters, and four others, he set out from Wills' Creek. A journey of nine days, through solitudes and mountain passes, and across streams swollen by recent rains, brought them to where the Monongahela, that river "so deep and still," meets the "swift running Alleghany." Washington explored the neighborhood, and remarks in his journal: "The land at the Fork is extremely well situated for a fort, as it has absolute command of both rivers." Thus thought the French engineers, who afterward on that very spot built Fort Du Quesne.

Shingis, chief sachem of the Delawares, who afterward took up arms against the English, accompanied him to Logstown. Here, by his instructions, Washington was to confer with the Indian chiefs: he summoned them to a grand talk. They would not commit themselves; they had heard that the French were coming with a strong force to drive the English out of the land. But he induced three of them to accompany him to the station of the French commandant; among them was the Half-King.

When he arrived at Venango, or Franklin, the officer in command referred him to the Chevalier St. Pierre, general officer at the next post. Meanwhile he was treated with politeness, and invited by the French officers to a supper. The wine passed freely, and the talkative Frenchmen began to boast of their plans; they would "take possession of the Ohio; the English could raise two men to their one, but they were too slow and dilatory." The sober and cautious Washington marked well their words. The three chiefs had promised well; they would give back the speech belts to the French; they

were friends to the English. But when plied with drink, and hailed by the French as "Indian brothers," they wavered for a time.

Washington obtained an interview with St. Pierre, "an ancient and silver-haired chevalier, courteous but ceremonious," and after some delay received an answer to his despatches, and hastened homeward. As the pack-horses were disabled, he left them and the baggage, and with Gist for his only companion struck out into the wilderness. The cold was intense, the snow was falling, and freezing as it fell. Wrapped in Indian blankets, with their guns in their hands and knapsacks on their backs, and a compass to guide them, they pushed on toward the Alleghany river, which they hoped to cross on the ice. Their journey through the pathless wild was marked by some mishaps and hairbreadth escapes. Their lives were endangered by a false guide, and Washington in endeavoring to force his way through the ice in the river, came near perishing; but, on the sixteenth of January, they 1754.
arrived safely at Williamsburg.

The answer of St. Pierre was courteous but indefinite. He referred the matter to the Marquis Du Quesne, the governor of Canada. It was clear, however, that he did not intend to retire from the valley of the Ohio. This was still more evident from the preparations of boats, artillery, and military stores, which Washington noticed up the Alleghany, waiting for the spring flood, when they would be taken to their place of destination.

The following spring the Ohio Company sent between thirty and forty men to build a fort at the head of the Ohio. The French were on the alert; a company of soldiers floated down the Alleghany, who surprised and surrounded them at their work. They must surrender in an hour's time or defend themselves against a thousand men. They were glad to leave their unfinished fort and return

CHAP. XXI. 1754.

to Virginia. The French took immediate possession, finished it, and named it Du Quesne.

At the early age of nineteen Washington had been appointed Adjutant-General of the northern district of Virginia, an office which he filled to the entire satisfaction of his countrymen. Now he received the commission of lieutenant-colonel, with orders to protect the frontiers. He was also offered the command of the expedition against the French at Fort Du Quesne. This he declined on account of his youth; the command was then conferred upon Colonel Fry, who shortly after fell ill, and it virtually passed into the hands of Washington. His little army was ill provided with tents and military stores, and poorly clad. They moved on very slowly. It was not easy with a train of artillery to pass through the forests, climb mountains, and ford swollen rivers. Washington pushed on with a detachment for the junction of the Redstone and Monongahela. There, on the spot now known as Brownsville, he hoped to maintain his position until the main force should come up, and then he would float down the river in flat-boats to Fort Du Quesne.

On the ninth of May this detachment arrived at a place called the Little Meadows. Here they met traders, who informed them that the French were in great force at Du Quesne, and that a portion of them had set out on a secret expedition. There was but little doubt as to its object. Presently came an Indian runner; he had seen the tracks of the Frenchmen; they were near. The Half-King with forty warriors was also in the neighborhood. On a dark and stormy night, Washington and forty of his men groped their way to his camp, which they reached about daylight. This faithful ally put a couple of runners upon the enemy's tracks; they reported that the French were encamped in a deep glen, where they had put up temporary cabins.

Washington arranged his company in two divisions,

and so effectually surprised them that few of their number escaped. Among the slain was the youthful De Jumonville, the leader of the party. Here was shed the first blood in that seven years' struggle, in which the French power on this continent was broken. As no reinforcements were sent, Washington was greatly disappointed; he could not maintain the advantage he had gained. He heard that a numerous force was on its way to attack him. In a letter to his friend Colonel Fairfax he writes: "The motives that have led me here are pure and noble. I had no view of acquisition, but that of honor by serving faithfully my king and country."

He built a fort at the Great Meadows, which, from the fact of a famine pressing upon them, he named Fort Necessity. It is a fact worthy of mention, that at this encampment public prayer was daily observed, and conducted by the youthful commander himself.

Soon five hundred French and many hundred Indians appeared on the hills in sight of the fort. He drew out his men for battle, but the enemy declined the contest. Then he withdrew them within the enclosure, giving them directions to fire only when an enemy was in sight. This irregular fighting continued throughout the day. The rain poured in torrents, and rendered useless many of their muskets. At night the French desired a parley; suspecting stratagem to introduce a spy, Washington at first refused, but at length consented. Much of the night was spent in negotiation; finally, the Virginians were allowed to leave the fort with the honors of war, and their equipments and stores, except artillery. The next morning the youthful hero led out his men. The Indians immediately began to plunder; Washington, seeing this, ordered every thing to be destroyed that the soldiers could not carry. The loss of the Virginia regiment, which numbered about three hundred, was nearly fifty; the loss of the enemy was greater. After much toil and suffering,

July 3.

CHAP. XXI. 1754.

from want of provisions, they arrived at Cumberland. Thus ended the first military expedition of Washington. Although unsuccessful, he displayed so much prudence and judgment that the people were impressed by his merits, and which the House of Burgesses acknowledged by a vote of thanks.

He was, however, soon after annoyed and mortified by the course pursued hy the narrow-minded Dinwiddie, who, unwilling to promote the provincial officers, dissolved the Virginia regiments, and formed them into independent companies, in which there should be no officer of higher rank than that of captain. With a dignity and self-respect worthy of his character, Washington withdrew from the army. When Governor Sharpe of Maryland, was appointed commander-in-chief by the king, he invited him, through a friend, to join it again under the title of colonel, but really with no higher authority than that of captain. He declined the offer, writing in reply, "If you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument to it, you must maintain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me more empty than the commission itself." He was still further mortified by Dinwiddie's refusal to give up the French prisoners, according to the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity.

While these contests were in progress in the valley of the Ohio, the French and English nations were ostensibly at peace. Each, desirous of deceiving the other, professed to hope that this little collision would not interrupt their harmony; the French still continued to send ships to America laden with soldiers; and the English matured plans to drive them away.

Matters took a more decided form; war was not declared, but open hostilities commenced, and England, for the first time, sent an army to aid the colonists.

CHAP. XXI.

1754.

Four expeditions were decided upon: one to capture the French posts near the head of the bay of Fundy, and expel the French from Acadie; another against Crown Point, to be led by William Johnson, Indian agent among the Mohawks; the third, against Niagara and Frontenac, was to be intrusted to Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts; the fourth against Fort Du Quesne; the latter the Commander-in-chief, General Edward Braddock, was to lead in person.

The struggle was about to commence in earnest; British troops had arrived, and the colonies responded with a good will to the call of the mother country for levies of soldiers.

General Braddock was perfect in the theory and practice of mere military training; he had been in the "Guards" many years, where he had drilled and drilled, but had never seen actual service. With the conceited assurance of inexperience, he believed the excellencies of the soldier were alone found in the British regular—the perfection of military skill in British officers. To these qualifications he added a most supercilious contempt for the provincial soldiers and their officers.

1755.

He was to lead in person the force against Fort Du Quesne. Of the difficulties of marching an army over mountains, and through an unbroken wilderness, he was blindly ignorant. He was unwilling to hear advice, or even receive information on the subject; and when Washington, whom he had invited to act as one of his aids, suggested that "if the march was to be regulated by the slow movements of the train, it would be tedious, very tedious indeed," he made no reply, but smiled at the simplicity of the young man, who knew so little about the movements of a regular army. Afterward, Benjamin Franklin ventured to direct his attention to the danger of Indian ambuscades. To his suggestion Braddock replied: "The Indians are no doubt formidable to raw Americans,

CHAP. XXI. 1755.

but upon the king's regulars, and disciplined troops, it is, sir, impossible they should make any impression."

The army assembled at Wills' Creek, to which place Braddock came in his coach, and surrounded by his staff, "cursing the road very heartily"—its roughness had broken his coach, and ruffled his temper. He refused to employ Indians as scouts on the march, or to protect the Pennsylvanians, who were making a road for the passage of the army; hooted at the suggestion of Washington to take as little baggage as possible, and to employ pack-horses instead of wagons. The English officers could give up neither their cumbrous baggage nor their luxuries, neither could the general dispense with "his two good cooks, who could make an excellent ragout out of a pair of boots, had they but materials to toss them up with."

June.

After a month's delay, the army commenced its march. The difficulties of dragging heavily laden wagons and artillery over roads filled with stumps of trees and rocks, brought the general partially to his senses, and he inquired of Washington what was the best to be done. From recent accounts it was known that the garrison at Fort Du Quesne was small, and he advised that a division of light armed troops should be hurried forward to take possession of the place, before reinforcements could arrive from Canada. Accordingly, twelve hundred choice men were detached from the main body and pushed forward, taking with them ten field-pieces, and pack-horses to carry their baggage. The main division was left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, with orders to move on as fast as possible.

The general persisted in refusing to employ either Indians or backwoodsmen as scouts. There was a celebrated hunter, known all along the frontiers as Captain Jack. He was "the terror of the Indians." He had been their prisoner, had lived years among them, and was fa-

miliar with their habits. Afterward he cleared for himself a piece of land, built his cabin, and, happy in his forest life, cultivated his ground and amused himself by hunting and fishing. On his return home on a certain evening he found his wife and children murdered, and his cabin in ashes. From that hour he devoted his life to defend the frontiers, and to avenge himself upon the destroyers of his worldly happiness. He offered his services and those of his band to act as scouts, and seek the Indians in their lurking-places. Braddock received him very coldly, and declined the offer, saying that he "had experienced troops upon whom he could rely for all purposes."

Even the advance division moved very slowly, not more than three or four miles a day. Says Washington in a letter, "Instead of pushing on with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they halt to level every mole-hill and to erect a bridge over every brook." A month's slow march through the woods brought the army to the east bank of the Monongahela, about fifteen miles above Fort Du Quesne. Only the very day before the proposed attack on that fort, Washington, who had been detained by a fit of sickness, was able to join them. As July 9. the hills came down to the water's edge, it was necessary to cross the river directly opposite to the camp, and five miles below, at another ford, recross to the east side. Colonel Gage—he, who, twenty years afterward, commanded a British army in Boston—crossed before daylight, and with his detachment moved rapidly to the second ford; then recrossing, took position to protect the passage of the main force. Washington ventured once more to suggest that the Virginia Rangers, consisting of three hundred men, should be thrown in advance. This proposition received an angry reply from Braddock, and, as if to make the rebuke more conspicuous, the Virginians and other provincials were placed as a rear-guard. At sunrise the remainder of the army was in motion. Their

CHAP. XXI. 1755.

equipments were in the most perfect order; their muskets were burnished, and charged with fresh cartridges, and in high spirits they moved along, with bayonets fixed, colors flying, and drums beating.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, after recrossing the river, as the army was moving along a narrow road, not more than twelve feet wide, with scarcely a scout in front or on the flanks, the engineer, who was marking the way, suddenly cried out "French and Indians." Scarcely was the alarm given, before rapid firing was heard in front, accompanied by most terrific yells. The enemy was in a broad ravine, covered with low shrubs, with moderately rising ground in front and on both sides. On this elevation among the trees were the French and Indians, invisible to the English, but from their hiding-places able to see every movement of the soldiers in the ravine, and to take deliberate aim. The regulars were thrown into confusion; the sight of their companions shot down beside them by an invisible enemy, together with the unearthly yells of the savages, sent a thrill of horror through their souls. They were ordered to charge bayonet up the hill, but no orders could induce them to leave the line. The enemy had been sent to occupy this very position, but had arrived too late; now they were spreading all along both sides of the ravine. The English soldiers lost all control, and fired at random into the woods, wherever they saw the smoke of an enemy's gun. The advance party fell back upon the second division, and threw it into still greater confusion. At this moment Colonel Burton came up with a reinforcement, eight hundred strong, but just as they had formed to face the enemy, down upon them rushed the two foremost divisions pell-mell; all were crowded together in inextricable confusion, and their officers were nearly all slain or wounded. Now came Braddock himself. He ordered the colors to advance, and the respective regiments to

separate and form in ranks—but in vain. No orders were obeyed. CHAP. XXI.

In a few minutes after the battle commenced the Virginia Rangers were behind trees, and rapidly picking off the Indians; but unfortunately many of these brave men fell victims to the random shots of the regulars. Washington entreated Braddock to permit his soldiers to protect themselves, as the Virginians had done; but he refused, and still persisted in striving to form them into platoons, and when any sheltered themselves behind trees, he called them cowards and struck them with the flat of his sword. Thus, through his obstinacy, these unfortunate men became targets for the enemy. The officers exhibited the greatest bravery, and many of them fell, as they were the special objects of the sharpshooters. Two of the aids, Morris and Orme, were severely wounded, and their duties devolved upon Washington. His exposure was great, as he passed often from one part of the field to another; yet he gave his orders with calmness and judgment. When sent to bring up the artillery, he found the Indians surrounding it, Sir Peter Halket, the commander, killed, and the men paralyzed with fear. He encouraged them, leaped from his horse, pointed a field-piece and discharged it. It was useless; the men deserted the guns. For three hours the desperate fight lasted. During this time Braddock was in the centre of the conflict, trying, *in his way*, to regain the field. His officers had nearly all fallen, and his slain soldiers covered the ground; still he would not permit the remainder to adopt the Indian mode of fighting. 1755.

Five horses were shot under him, and finally he himself was mortally wounded. As he was falling from his horse Captain Stewart, of the Virginia Guards, caught him in his arms. As they bore him out of danger, he begged to be left to die upon the field of his misfortune. All was now abandoned. The fall of the general saved

CHAP. XXI. 1755.

the army from entire destruction. The sodiers were now at liberty to save themselves as best they could. "The regulars fled like sheep before hounds." The Virginia Rangers threw themselves in the rear, and for some time held the enemy in check. The wagoners mounted their team-horses and fled; all hurried to the ford, fiercely pursued by the Indians. The love of plunder restrained the pursuers, and after the fugitives had recrossed the river they were not molested.

Washington rode all that night and the next day to Dunbar's camp to obtain wagons to transport the wounded, and soldiers to guard them. When he had obtained these he hastened back to meet the fugitives.

Braddock was still able to issue orders, and seems to have had a faint hope that he might hold out till he could receive reinforcements. He was carried by the soldiers, being unable to mount a horse;—at length, the fugitives arrived at Fort Necessity. The wounded general appeared to be heart-broken. He scarcely spoke; as if reflecting on his past confidence in his troops, he would occasionally ejaculate, "Who would have thought it?" Tradition tells of his softened feelings toward those whom he had treated harshly; of his gratitude to Captain Stewart for his care and kindness; of his apology to Washington for the manner in which he had received his advice. On the night of the thirteenth of July he died. The next morning, before the break of day, he was buried as secretly as possible, lest the Indians, who were hovering around, should find his grave and violate it. The chaplain was among the wounded, and Washington read the funeral service. Near the National road, a mile west of Fort Necessity, may be seen a rude pile of stones—the work of some friendly hand,—it marks the grave of Braddock. "His dauntless conduct on the field of battle shows him to have been a man of spirit. His melancholy end, too, disarms censure of its asperity. Whatever may

have been his faults and errors, he, in a manner expiated them by the hardest lot that can befall a brave soldier ambitious of renown,—an unhonored grave in a strange land, a memory clouded by misfortune, and a name ever coupled with defeat."[1]

The frightened Dunbar, though he had under his command fifteen hundred effective men,—enough, if properly led, to have regained the field,—broke up his camp, destroyed his stores, and retreated with all speed; only when he had arrived safely in Philadelphia did he breathe freely. His failure of duty left the frontiers exposed to the inroads of the savages.

Of eighty-six officers, twenty-six had perished, and thirty-six were wounded. Among the latter was Captain Horatio Gates, who, twenty-five years later, was conspicuous as a major-general in the struggle for independence. Of the soldiers, more than seven hundred were either killed or wounded. The gallant Virginia Rangers had perished in great numbers, for upon them had fallen the brunt of the battle. When it became known that there were only two hundred and twenty-five French, and about six hundred and fifty Indians in the battle, the disgrace was deeply felt, that this handful of men, sent merely to hold the English in check, should have defeated a well-equipped and disciplined army of nearly twice their own number.

The religious sentiments of the colonists were greatly shocked at the profanity, Sabbath-breaking, and almost every form of vice and wickedness common in this boastful army. So certain were the expectations of victory, that preparations were made to celebrate it.

It is proper to notice the effect of these events upon the minds of the colonists. With them the name of the British regulars had lost its prestige—they were not invincible. In addition, the haughtiness of the British

[1] Washington Irving.

CHAP. XXI.

1755

officers had inflicted wounds destined never to be healed. The attention of the people was directed especially to Washington. In a letter to his brother Augustine he says: "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, though death was levelling my companions on every side around me."

The wonderful manner in which he had been preserved in that day of peril, excited universal attention. No doubt the Rev. Samuel Davies, one of the most celebrated clergymen of the day, expressed the common sentiment, when, in a sermon preached soon after Braddock's defeat, he referred to him as "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, *whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country.*" Washington was never wounded in battle; he was shielded by the same protecting hand.

CHAPTER XXII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CONTINUED.

The French Acadiens; their simple Manners, Industry, and good Morals.—Expulsion from their Homes, and mournful Exile.—Expedition against Crown Point.—Baron Dieskau.—English defeated.—Death of Colonel Williams.—Attack on Johnson's Camp repulsed.—Death of Dieskau.—Williams College.—Indian Ravages on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.—Kittanning destroyed.—Lord Loudon Commander-in-chief.—His tardiness and arbitrary Measures.—Montcalm acts with Energy; captures Fort Ontario, then Fort William Henry.—Exhausted condition of Canada.

CHAP. XXII.

1755.

In the mean time other expeditions were undertaken against the French. For this purpose Massachusetts alone raised eight thousand soldiers, almost one-fifth part of her able-bodied men. A portion of Acadie or Nova Scotia was still in the hands of the French. It consisted of the isthmus on the northern part, which was defended by two insignificant forts. For forty years, since the peace of Utrecht, the peninsula had been under British rule, and now the whole territory was completely subdued. These forts, with scarcely any resistance, fell into the hands of the English. Sixteen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth this French colony was established on the Peninsula of Acadie. It was the oldest permanent French settlement in North America. For one hundred and fifty years the Acadiens had been gradually clearing and improving their lands, and enjoying the comforts of rural life. At first their chief sources of wealth had been the fisheries and the fur-trade; but these had

June 16.

CHAP. XXII. 1755.

gradually given way to agriculture. Their social intercourse was governed by a high tone of morals. Their differences, but few in number, were settled by the arbitration of their old men. Seldom did they go with complaints to their English rulers. Early marriages were encouraged, and when a young man came of age, his neighbors built him a house, and aided him for one year, and the wife's friends aided her with gifts. Their fields were fertile, and industry made them productive. Their meadows, which now were covered with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, they had, by means of dikes, redeemed from the great flow of the tide. Their little cottages dotted the landscape. In their domestic industry each family provided for its own wants, and clothed its members with cloth and linen made from the wool of their flocks, or from the flax of their fields.

As Catholics, they were happy in the exercise of their religion; though they belonged to the diocese of Quebec, they were not brought into close relation with the people of Canada. They knew but little of what was passing beyond the limits of their own neighborhood. Independent of the world, they had its comforts, but not its luxuries. They now numbered about seventeen thousand inhabitants, and up to this time their English rulers had left them undisturbed in their seclusion.

A dark cloud was hanging over this scene of rural simplicity and comfort. As they were excused from bearing arms against France by the terms of their surrender, the Acadiens were known as "French neutrals;" neither had they been required to take the usual oaths of allegiance; they had promised submission to English authority, to be neutral in times of war with France, and it was understood they were to enjoy their religion. This oath was one which, as good Frenchmen and good Catholics, they could not take; it required them to bear arms against their own brethren in Canada, and it might in-

volve the interests of their religion. "Better," urged the priests, "surrender your meadows to the sea and your houses to the flames, than at the peril of your souls take the oath of allegiance to the British government." But it was now to be exacted. "They possess the best and largest tract of land in this province," writes Lawrence, Lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, to Lord Halifax; "if they refuse the oaths, it would be much better that they were away." This "largest and best tract" seems to have been coveted by their English rulers; they undoubtedly were suspicious of the Acadiens as Catholics, and it is true some of their more ardent young men belonged, as volunteers, to the garrisons of the recently captured forts; but as this simple-minded people had neither the will nor the power to aid the enemies of England, we cannot suppose that this suspicion alone induced the British to visit upon them a severity so unparalleled. The question of allegiance was, however, to be pressed to the utmost; if they refused to take the oath, the titles to their lands were to be null and void. The haughty conduct of the British officers sent to enforce these orders was to them a harbinger of sorrow. Their property was wantonly taken for the public service, and "they not to be bargained with for payment;" if they did not bring wood at the proper time, "the soldiers might take their houses for fuel." Their guns were taken, and their boats seized, under the pretence that they intended to carry provisions to the French. The English insisted upon treating this people, so faithful to their country and their religion, as lawless rebels. Wearied by these oppressions, their deputies promised allegiance; they declared that their conscience would not permit them to rebel against their rulers, and they humbly asked that their arms and boats might be restored. "The memorial is highly arrogant, insidious, and insulting," said the haughty Lawrence; "guns do not belong to you by law, for you are

CHAP. XXII. 1755.

Roman Catholics." After consultation with the people, the deputies offered to swear unconditionally. Then they were told, as they had once refused, now they should not be permitted to swear.

A calamity, as unexpected as it was dreadful, was at hand. By proclamation, "the old men, and young men, as well as all lads over ten years of age," were called upon to assemble, on a certain day, the fifth of September, at certain posts in their respective districts, to hear the

Sept.

"wishes of the king." The call was obeyed. At Grand Pré alone more than four hundred unsuspecting and unarmed men and boys came together. They were gathered into the church, its doors were closed, and Winslow, the commander, announced to them the decision of the British government. They were to be banished forever from their native province; from the fields they had cultivated, from the pleasant homes where they had spent their youth. They might not emigrate to lands offered them among friends in Canada, lest they should add strength to the French. They were to be driven forth as beggars among their enemies, a people of a strange language and of a different religion. They were retained as prisoners, till the ships which were to bear them away were ready. As soon as possible, their wives and little children were also seized. On the day of embarkation, the young men and boys were first ordered on board the ship; as their parents and friends were not allowed to go with them, they refused, fearing that if thus separated, they might never meet again—a thought they could not bear. But resistance and entreaties were useless; driven by the bayonet, they were marched from the church to the ship, which was a mile distant; their way was lined with weeping friends, mothers, and sisters, who prayed for blessings on their heads, and they themselves wept and prayed and mournfully chanted psalms as they passed along. Then in the same manner the fathers were driven on board

another ship. The wives and children were left behind; these were kept for weeks near the sea without proper shelter or food, shivering in December's cold, till ships could come to take them away. "The soldiers hate them, and if they can but find a pretext will kill them." Thus wrote an English officer who was engaged in this work of cruelty.

In some places the object of the proclamation was suspected, and the men and youth did not assemble. In the vicinity of Annapolis some fled to the woods, with their wives and children, some went to Canada, while others threw themselves upon the hospitality of the Indians, from whom they received a hearty welcome. That these poor people, who had fled to the woods, might be compelled by starvation and exposure to give themselves up, orders were issued to lay waste their homes, and the whole country was made a desolation, from the village and its church, to the peasant's cottage and barn. "For successive evenings the cattle assembled round the smouldering ruins, as if in anxious expectation of the return of their masters; while all night long the faithful watch-dogs howled over the scene of desolation, and mourned alike the hand that had fed, and the house that had sheltered them." [1]

Seven thousand of these poor people were transported and cast helpless on the shores of the English colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. Families were separated never to meet again. From time to time, for many years afterward, advertisements in the newspapers of the colonies told the tale of sorrow. Now they inquired for a lost wife or husband, now brothers and sisters inquired for each other; parents for their children, and children for their parents. When any in after years attempted to return they were driven off. Some of those taken to

[1] Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia.

CHAP. XXII. 1755.

Georgia could endure their banishment no longer. They obtained boats, and coasted along the shore toward home; but, alas! when almost at the end of their perilous voyage, they were ordered away. Some wandered to Louisiana, where lands on the river above New Orleans, still known as the Acadien coast, were assigned them.

This work of wanton cruelty was done by men, who unblushingly congratulated the approving king that the work of desolation had been so effectively accomplished—a work, which, for its treachery and cowardly cruelty, deserves the reprobation of every human breast. "I know not that the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadie. The hand of the English official seemed under a spell with regard to them, and was never uplifted but to curse them." [1]

The expedition against Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, had been intrusted to General William Johnson. His troops were drawn precipitately from Massachusetts and Connecticut; a regiment from New Hampshire joined them at Albany. At the head of boat navigation on the Hudson, a fort was built which, in honor of their commander, whom they reverenced as "a brave and virtuous man," the soldiers named Fort Lyman. But when Johnson assumed the command he ungenerously changed the name to Fort Edward. Leaving a garrison in this fort, Johnson moved with about five thousand men to the head of Lake George, and there formed a camp, intending to descend into Lake Champlain. Hendrick, the celebrated Mohawk chief, with his warriors, were among these troops. Israel Putnam, too, was there, as a captain, and John Stark as a lieutenant, each taking lessons in warfare.

The French were not idle; the district of Montreal made the most strenuous exertions to meet the invading

[1] Bancroft.

foe. All the men who were able to bear arms were called into active service; so that to gather in the harvest, their places were supplied by men from other districts. The energetic Baron Dieskau resolved, by a bold attack, to terrify the invaders. Taking with him two hundred regulars, and about twelve hundred Canadians and Indians, he set out to capture Fort Edward; but as he drew near, the Indians heard that it was defended by cannon, which they greatly dreaded, and they refused to advance. He now changed his plan, and resolved to attack Johnson's camp, which was supposed to be without cannon.

Meantime scouts had reported to Johnson, that they had seen roads made through the woods in the direction of Fort Edward. Not knowing the movements of Dieskau, a detachment of a thousand men, under Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts, and two hundred Mohawks, under Hendrick, marched to relieve that post. The French had information of their approach, and placed themselves in ambush. They were concealed among the thick bushes of a swamp, on the one side, and rocks and trees on the other. The English recklessly marched into the defile. They were vigorously attacked, and thrown into confusion. Hendrick was almost instantly killed, and in a short time Williams fell also. The detachment commenced to retreat, occasionally halting to check their pursuers. The firing was heard in the camp; as the sound drew nearer and nearer, it was evident the detachment was retreating. The drums beat to arms, trees were hastily felled and thrown together to form a breastwork, upon which were placed a few cannon, just arrived from the Hudson. Scarcely were these preparations made, when the panting fugitives appeared in sight, hotly pursued by the French and Indians. Intending to enter the camp with the fugitives, Dieskau urged forward his men with the greatest impetuosity. The moment the fugitives were past the muzzles of the cannon,

CHAP. XXII. 1755.

they opened with a tremendous shower of grape, which scattered the terrified Indians and checked the Canadians, but the regulars pushed on. A determined contest ensued, which lasted five hours, until the regulars were nearly all slain, while the Indians and Canadians did but little execution; they remained at a respectful distance among the trees. At length the enemy began to retreat, and the Americans leaped over the breastwork and pursued them with great vigor. That same evening, after the pursuit had ceased, as the French were retreating, they were suddenly attacked with great spirit by the New Hampshire regiment, which was on its way from Fort Edward. They were so panic-stricken by this new assault, that they abandoned every thing, and fled for their lives.

Dieskau had been wounded once or twice at the commencement of the battle, but he never left his post; two of his soldiers generously attempted to carry him out of danger, but when in the act one of them received his death wound; he urged the other to flee. In the midst of flying bullets he calmly seated himself on the stump of a neighboring tree. He was taken prisoner, kindly treated, and sent to England, where he died.

Johnson was slightly wounded at the commencement of the battle, and prudently retired from danger. To General Lyman belongs the honor of the victory, yet Johnson, in his report of the battle, did not even mention his name. Johnson, for his exertions on that day, was made a baronet, and received from royal favor a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars. He had friends at court, but Lyman was unknown.

Colonel Ephraim Williams, who fell in this battle, while passing through Albany had taken the precaution to make his will, in which he bequeathed property to found a free school in western Massachusetts. That school has since grown into WILLIAMS COLLEGE—a mon-

ument more honorable than one of granite, one fraught with blessings to future generations.

Johnson, instead of pushing on to take advantage of the victory, loitered in his camp, and finally built and garrisoned a useless wooden fort, which he named William Henry.

As has been mentioned, the retreat of Dunbar left the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania subject to the horrors of savage warfare. Washington was intrusted with their defence, but so few men had he at his command, and they so scattered, as to afford but little protection. The distant settlers of Virginia were driven in, and the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah became almost a desolation. Governor Dinwiddie, as an apology for not furnishing more soldiers, wrote: "We dare not part with any of our white men to any distance, as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves." In one of his letters, Washington says: "The supplicating tears of women and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that for the people's ease, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the treacherous enemy."

The village of Kittanning, twenty or thirty miles up the Alleghany, above Fort Du Quesne, was the headquarters of a notable Indian chief, known as Captain Jacobs. Incited by the French, he and his bands made many murderous incursions against the settlements of Pennsylvania. His associate was the Delaware chief Shingis. Benjamin Franklin, who had been appointed colonel by the governor, had organized the Pennsylvania militia to protect the frontiers, and after his resignation, Colonel John Armstrong, afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary war, was chosen in his place. He resolved to destroy these Indians and their village. Three hundred Pennsylvanians volunteered for the enterprise. In the latter part of September they set out on horseback across the mountains, and in a few days came into the

CHAP. XXII.

1756. Sept.

vicinity of Kittanning, at night. They heard the savages carousing and yelling; they left their horses, approached the village, and arranged the order of attack. The night was warm, the Indians soon began to separate, some to sleep in the corn-fields near by, and some in wigwams. As day began to dawn, the Americans surrounded the party, and, at a given signal, rushed to the attack. The Indians were taken by surprise, but soon the voice of Jacobs was heard loud above the din, cheering on his warriors, and shouting, "We are men, we will not be prisoners." The wigwams were set on fire, and warriors were heard singing their death-song in the midst of the flames. Jacobs attempted to break through the surrounding foe, but his career was cut short by a rifle-ball. This nest of savage murderers was entirely broken up; the survivors went further west, and for a season the frontiers had peace.

Lord Loudon was appointed a sort of viceroy of all the colonies. He sent General Abercrombie as his lieutenant, having suspended Governor Shirley, and ordered him to

June.

repair to England. Abercrombie arrived in June, and brought with him several British regiments. It was confidently expected that something important would now be done. These royal gentlemen had an army of seven thousand men at Albany, but, as the Frenchmen had said, they were "slow and dilatory,"—they spent the summer in adjusting the rank of the officers. The soldiers of the colonies, though they had, by their indomitable courage, saved the remnant of the British army on the banks of the Monongahela, though, at Lake George, they had driven the enemy before them, and had defended their soil and maintained the honor of the English name, yet they were not permitted to elect their own officers, and if they were appointed by the colonial governors, those of the same rank by royal appointment took the precedence. These were the petty annoyances dictated by little minds, that aided so much in alienating

the colonists from the mother country, and in the end leading them to independence. CHAP. XXII.

While the English were thus trifling, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, was acting. With five thousand Frenchmen, Canadians, and Indians, he darted across the lake, and suddenly presented himself at the gates of Fort Ontario, at the mouth of the Oswego. He met with a vigorous resistance; not until they had lost all hope of receiving aid, and their brave commander, Colonel Mercer, was killed, did the garrison surrender. An immense amount of military stores fell into the hands of Montcalm; he sent the captured flags to adorn the churches of Canada, and to please the Iroquois, who promised neutrality, he demolished the fort. Though it was known that this important post was threatened, yet no means were taken to relieve it. Thus Loudon planned and counterplanned, accomplished nothing, and then withdrew from his arduous labors into winter-quarters. He demanded free quarters for his officers of the citizens of Albany, New York, and Philadelphia. As the demand was "contrary to the laws of England and the liberties of America," they refused to accede to it. He threatened to bring his soldiers and compel them to submit to the outrage. The citizens, in their weakness, raised subscriptions to support for the winter those who had wasted the resources of the country. Thus a military chief invaded, not merely the political rights of the people, but the sanctities of their domestic life. 1756. Aug. 14.

Montcalm was undisturbed in making preparations to capture Fort William Henry, before which he appeared, the next year, with a large French and Indian force. The garrison numbered about three thousand men, under Colonel Monroe, a brave officer, who, when summoned to surrender, indignantly refused, and immediately sent to General Webbe, at Fort Edward, fifteen miles distant, for aid. He could have relieved Monroe, for he had four 1757.

CHAP. XXII. 1757. thousand men at his disposal, but when Putnam obtained permission to go to the aid of the fort, and had proceeded some miles with his rangers, Webbe recalled him. Then he sent a letter to Monroe advising him to surrender. This letter fell into the hands of Montcalm, who was on the point of raising the siege, but he now sent the letter to Monroe, with another demand to surrender. The brave veteran would not capitulate, but held out till half his guns were rendered useless. Montcalm was too brave and generous not to appreciate nobleness in others, and he granted him the privilege of marching out with the hon-

Aug. 9. ors of war. The only pledge he asked, was that the soldiers should not engage in war against the French for eighteen months. They were to retain their private property, and Canadian and Indian prisoners were to be restored.

Montcalm held a council of the Indians, who consented to the terms of the treaty, though they were sadly disappointed in their hopes of plunder. He refused them rum, and thus he could restrain them; but, unfortunately the night after the surrender they obtained it from the English. In the morning they were frantic from the effects of intoxication, and when the garrison were leaving their camp, they fell upon the stragglers. The French officers did all they could to restrain them, and some were even wounded in their exertions to save the English soldiers from savage violence. Montcalm, in his agony, cried, "Kill me, but spare the English; they are under my protection." Instead of an orderly retreat to Fort Edward, it was a flight.

Thus the French, with a population in Canada, not one-twentieth part as great as that of the English colonies, seemed triumphant everywhere. Was it strange that the colonists began to lose their respect for those sent to protect them from their enemies—especially for the officers? They believed the interference of the home government hindered the advancement of their cause,

while the majority of the royalist governors seemed to be actuated by no worthier motive than that of promoting their own interests.

Though the French were thus victorious, and possessed the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and apparently all the continent, except a little strip along the Atlantic coast, yet Canada was exhausted. The struggle was virtually over. Her men had been drawn to the battle-field, while their farms were left untilled, and now famine was beginning to press upon the people. Their cattle and sheep were destroyed, and horse-flesh was made to supply the place of beef; no aid could come from France, as nearly all intercourse was cut off by the ever-present British cruisers. The French owed their success, not to their own strength, but to the imbecility of the English commanders.

Mr. James Milton Goin

Kattan

Okla.

Feb. 26-1916